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MEMOIRS  
OF  
COUNT LAVALLETTE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

### COUNT LAVALLETTE.\*

A few days before the 10th of August, King Louis XVI. — reviewing the National Guards of Paris, assembled on the Rue du Carrousel; the monarch walked from the right of the front of the line, with a slow and measured step, distributing encouragements — praises, when from the opposite end of the line, a young soldier rushed forward into the rank facing the King, and cried with enthusiasm, "Long live the King! Long live Louis XVI.! We are all for the King until death!" Louis XVI. stopped surprised, thanked the young man by

\* This was published a few days after the decease — Count Lavallete, in — "Revue — Paris," Vol. XII. No. 1. 7th March, 1830.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF

sign with his hand, — his name—it was Lavallotte.

Soon after, the events of the 10th of August showed his impatient courage an opportunity of showing itself. Lavallotte got the command of a post at the Tuileries. He defended it for a long while against the fury of the rebels, who seemed to multiply under the fire of the palace. But he was at last forced to yield. When the news came that Louis XVI. had retired to the Assembly, the massacre began. Lavallotte, covered with dust and blood, was dragged away by some friends, and thus by a miracle escaped a glorious death; but his fate was to go there.

Five years later, on the 19th Fructidor, a young officer in a brilliant uniform, wearing round his arm the tricoloured sash, quickly jumped into a cabriolet near the gate of the *Petit Luxembourg*; one of his former school-fellows, passing by, recognised him, and after the usual congratulations, said:—

“Where are you going?”

“I intend to return to Italy as quickly as possible.”

“Why in such a hurry?”

“Bar拉斯 threatens to have me shot within four-and-twenty hours.”

"Then I advise you to get away, for he's in the humour to do it."

"Who knows that better than I? I wanted to make some opposition to the barbarous follies of last night, and they send me away this morning; but my conscience is clear, and Bonaparte protects me. Adieu, I go; if it please Heaven, we shall see each other again."

The very evening after that conversation Lavallette left Paris.

We shall leave him galloping on the road to Italy, and going some years back, we will follow his steps from the 1<sup>st</sup> of August to the 11<sup>th</sup> Fructidor; from a Royalist volunteer to captain in the Republican army.

There is no doubt but the Revolution of 1789 was wished for by the great majority of the French. Nevertheless the cruelties that marked its commencement disgusted all honest minds. Neither the plunderers of Reveillon's stores, the murderers of Foulon nor Berthier, nor the brawling rebels of the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, represented the wishes or feelings of France, and the party of Louis XVI. were at first to enlist all the patriots, irritated by such criminal acts.

The public mind was thus disposed,

the foreign [REDACTED] broke out, preceded by insolent threats: it proved a powerful diversion to the difficulties in which the Republican party, [REDACTED] of the Legislative Assembly, [REDACTED] involved. They turned [REDACTED] to advantage in a skilful manner; and while the emigration of the nobles deprived the King of [REDACTED] his natural support at home, those whom generous feeling [REDACTED] called in his defence, [REDACTED] flew to the frontiers, and triumphed in the victories of Valmy, Jemmapes, and Savoy, with Kellerinann, Chartres, and Montesquiou; they heard no longer, in the rumour of camps and the intoxication of glory, the cries of royalty in distress.

It was then that the throne fell for want of support.

Lavallette followed, under<sup>1</sup> the standard of the Republic, the crowd of young men who, like himself, without fortune, name, or expectation, did not wish to speculate either upon emigration or terror. From the armies which remained neutral between the two opposite extremes were destined to a future period to rise those new fortunes, those reputations so pure, so dear to France, among which Lavallette was to shine.\*

\* Lavallette was born in [REDACTED] in 1769, in the [REDACTED] year with [REDACTED] protector and [REDACTED] the Emperor Napoleon.

His father, who was a respectable [REDACTED] Paris, [REDACTED] him [REDACTED] Harcourt college an education [REDACTED] [REDACTED] first sight appeared above his station in society. In consequence, when his parents began [REDACTED] think of his establishment, they found nothing better than to devote him to the church; for he had no [REDACTED] for entering into trade, and he had too much merit [REDACTED] [REDACTED] days in the idleness of a garrison. He, therefore, took holy orders, obtained the situation of under-librarian [REDACTED] St. Genevieve, and buried himself in books.

But the Revolution was [REDACTED] announced by symptoms that could not escape Lavallette. His ambition [REDACTED] roused at the thoughts of the events that [REDACTED] preparing.

One day [REDACTED] he was walking arm-in-arm with two friends in the Rue Mazarine, the [REDACTED] tion happened to fall on futurity. That subject [REDACTED] a common one among young men.

"As for me," said Lavallette, "you think me very quiet, quite buried in my books; well, I can tell you that I wish to make my fortune. This Revolution encourages me."

[REDACTED] You, my friend! you will always be walking close to the houses [REDACTED] you do now, [REDACTED] fear of being run over."

"Leave that time; we can for nothing. I ~~will~~ perhaps have the best part of the pavement in my turn, and then, my friends, ~~will~~ I don't bespatter you. Will you ~~see~~ that in the highway they are opening for me I do not get there quicker than you?"

The bets were agreed to. The two companions followed honourably their several ~~ways~~, but Lavallette advanced with giant's strides, and in thirty years of age he had won his wager.

The events of 1789 are known. Young Lavallette did not follow the church. A musket on his shoulder, he entered the National Guard which Lafayette was organizing for the defence of king and country. In 1792 he signed the Royalist petition of the ~~one~~ thousand; but his conduct on the 10th of August appearing impious, he enlisted as a volunteer in the Legion of the Alps, and was one of the ~~men~~ of that army of peasants and citizens which formed the coalition on the banks of the Rhine, between their mercenary and France. He served with great distinction during the whole campaign. At the named adjutant of engineers, he was ~~always~~ chosen as aide-de-camp by General Baraguey d'Hilliers. He

when that General came to ■■■ to defend Custines, whom ■■■ his exertions could not ■■■ he ■■■ persecuted himself, and deprived of his liberty until the 9th Thermidor, so that he could do nothing for Lavayette.

After the ■■■ Thermidor, the Revolution, tired of proscription, stopped. The inviolability of ■■■ territory had been secured, and ■■■ principles of reform were beyond all danger: a second period was beginning, in which the Revolution wished to get her rights acknowledged. She was mistress of France, ■■■ her fate urged her on towards the conquest of Europe; with those old and obstinate monarchies she could only ■■■ sword in hand, and reply ■■ sophistry by victories.

The Constitution of the Third Year opened this second and exclusively military period. ■■■ passed from the government of Terror to that of Glory: it was then that Bonaparte appeared.

At the sight of ■■■ hero of twenty-six, with ■■ pale and melancholy countenance, ■■ proud ■■■ ■■ deportment, ■■ eagle glance, his short sentences, ■■ rapid gestures which commanded obedience, ■■ gravity, which, notwithstanding ■■ youth, ■■ him respected by ■■

generals of the Republic,—at sight also of that firm and devoted army that was about to fight under his orders, of those young enthusiastic lieutenants who thronged around him, of that Italian soil which presented itself as a rich prey, it might, perhaps, not have been difficult to foretell, that the first act of the military drama, which began at Montenotte and terminated at Waterloo, would be the most poetical and most brilliant of all.

Lavallette was at first but coolly received among the staff-officers of the General-in-Chief, and was forced to conquer at the point of the sword the esteem of Bonaparte. It was on the field of battle at Arcola that he received from the General the title of aide-de-camp and the rank of Captain. Being wounded in his perilous mission to Tyrol, he was complimented by Bonaparte, who said to him in presence of the army, "Lavallette, you have behaved like a brave man. When I write the history of this campaign, I shall not forget you!" He kept his word. In the mean while, the young officer gained the friendship of his General by other qualities as well as personal valour: he possessed solid information, a scrutinising mind, <sup>memory</sup> prudence, and perfect good

breeding. This latter quality Bonaparte liked above all things, and he distinguished Lavallette.

A few months afterwards he chose him for a difficult mission. The General of the ~~French~~ army, surrounded by ~~the~~ glory, nevertheless watched with anxiety the movements and struggles of the parties which at that time agitated France. In the conflict of so many passions, he could with difficulty distinguish the truth. He therefore sent to Paris ~~the~~ aide-de-camp Lavallette, to learn, through his reports, the real ~~state~~ of affairs. A cipher, invented by Bourrienne, served for their correspondence.

Lavallette, young and unknown, cast thus in the midst of the dangers, intrigues, and seductions of political life, displayed nevertheless remarkable prudence and firmness. He frequented all the Societies of the period, but he connected himself with ~~none~~. At ~~the~~ Luxembourg, ~~in~~ Carnot's, in Madame de ~~la~~ drawing-room, ~~in~~ the circles of Augereau, every ~~where~~ his ingenuity discovered the real aim of each party, through the veil of vulgarity or ~~politeness~~ which covered them. He ~~saw~~ the Directory in all the ridiculous glory of its magnificence, and never could forget ~~the~~ ~~time~~.

formed by those tyrants, in whose government  
■■■■■ seemed to vie with cruelty. In ■■■■■ he ■■■■■ the following to one of ■■■■■ friends :\*—

" I saw our five kings, dressed in the robes  
of Francis I., his hat, his pantaloons, and his  
lace : the Duke of La Reveillere looked like a  
cork upon two pins, with the ■■■■■ and grey  
hair of Clodion. M. de Talleyrand, ■■■■■ pan-  
taloons of the colour of wine dregs, set in a  
folding ■■■■■ the feet of the Director Barres,  
in the Court of the Petit Luxembourg ; and  
gravely presented to ■■■■■ sovereigns an Ambas-  
■■■■■ from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, while  
the French were eating his master's dinner,  
from the soup to the cheese. At the right  
hand there were fifty musicians and singers of  
the Opera, Lainé, Lays, Regnault, and the  
actresses, ■■■■■ all dead of old age, roaring a  
patriotic ■■■■■ in the music of Méhul. Fac-  
ing them, on another elevation, there were  
■■■■■ hundred young ■■■■■ beautiful women, with  
their arms and bosoms bare, all in ecstasy  
■■■■■ the majesty of our Peatarchy and the happi-  
ness of ■■■■■ Republic. They ■■■■■ tight  
flesh-colour pantaloons, with rings in their ■■■■■  
■■■■■ was a sight that never will be ■■■■■ again.  
A fortnight after ■■■■■ magnificent *fête*, thou-

\* The author of ■■■■■ Sketch.

sands of [REDACTED] wept [REDACTED] their [REDACTED] fathers, forty-eight Departments were deprived of their representatives, and forty editors [REDACTED] newspapers [REDACTED] forced [REDACTED] to drink the [REDACTED] wine of the Elbe, the Synamary, or the Ohio! It would [REDACTED] a curious disquisition [REDACTED] to discover what really were [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] the Republic [REDACTED] Liberty."

Lavallette had no power to oppose such violent [REDACTED]. He entered, however, a [REDACTED] of protest [REDACTED] against them, by refusing to Barras the money Bonaparte [REDACTED] promised him out of the cash of the Army of Italy. [REDACTED] raised against him the fury of the Directory [REDACTED] the brutal anger of Augereau. But, if he did not prevent the 18th Fructidor, he contributed, at least, to fix the General's opinion in regard to [REDACTED] coup d'état, struck by a power [REDACTED] once violent and weak, oppressive and despised, [REDACTED] who had not courage enough to be equitable. From that moment the Directory was condemned in the eyes of Bonaparte. He saw [REDACTED] no futurity existed for the [REDACTED] Constitution of [REDACTED] Year III., [REDACTED] from that day, even before the peace of Campo Formio was signed, [REDACTED] long-sighted genius formed [REDACTED] plan of [REDACTED] Egyptian campaign.

Having escaped from [REDACTED] of the Directory, Lavallette rejoined [REDACTED] General-in-Chief at [REDACTED] Castle of Passerano. Bonaparte did [REDACTED] leave his zeal time to cool. A few days afterwards, Lavallette, [REDACTED] round [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] sword in [REDACTED] hand, entered the walls of Genoa, which had insulted the French. The gates of the Senate-house [REDACTED] opened for him, and there, in the midst of the patricians, [REDACTED] bling [REDACTED] once with fear and rage, he, with a high hand and a loud voice, demanded satisfaction, and forced the Doge to abandon and disown all English influence.

After the peace of Campo Formio, Bonaparte crossed Switzerland on his way to Rastadt. Lavallette accompanied him in this triumphant journey, during which the people everywhere flocked to [REDACTED] the young conqueror of Italy. The General did not remain long at Rastadt. Disgusted at the protracted delays of German diplomacy, he [REDACTED] the place, where Lavallette remained, entrusted with secret powers, and placed in the most difficult position between [REDACTED] mistrustful plenipotentiaries of the Directory, who detested him, and [REDACTED] ceremonious German Ministers, who [REDACTED] his [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] of Bonaparte.

He was ~~in~~ a few months ~~in~~. It was then that Bonaparte, not daring to solicit from ~~him~~ a reward for Lavallette, ~~sold~~ him ~~to~~ a young lady of the ~~House~~ of Beanbarnais, ~~a~~ niece of his wife, ~~and~~ whose ~~husband~~ had emigrated. Thus his kindness prepared the future welfare of his friend, ~~and~~ allied ~~to~~ plebeian name to the lustre of his dynasty.

Lavallette ~~had~~ sooner married ~~when~~ he was forced to depart. Bonaparte resolved to send him to Egypt, that ~~he~~ might not be compromised in the trivial intrigues which ~~were~~ going on in France. Near him, high in his confidence, ~~we~~ still find Lavallette, with his soldierlike devotion, his open cheerfulness, his ~~desire~~ for solitary studies in the camp, his poetic enthusiasm for the distant and perilous enterprize. After the capitulation of Malta, ~~he~~ was commanded to accompany ~~the~~ end of the Adriatic the Grand Master and his ~~men~~. On ~~his~~ return he visited the fortresses of Corfu. He ~~had~~ ~~not~~ have carried ~~any~~ peace to the Pacha of Janina, but the latter was then fighting on the ~~bank~~ of the Danube. On arriving before Aboukir, Lavallette ~~had~~ ~~been~~ with the unfortunate Brueys, ~~who~~

he found moored in the roads, preparing for a battle and inflated with the hope of a certain victory. He departed the day before the latter, and after having passed a violent storm in the mouth of the Nile, he went to Cairo, and from that time he only twice left the General; first to accompany the Alexandria Citizen Beauchamp, at a moment when the plague raged with the greatest violence in that city, and the second to visit Andréassy when he went to reconnoitre Pelusium.\*

Lavallette was admitted to the intimacy, the conversations and the counsels of Bonaparte; he was his table companion and his reader,† and he also shared the dangers.‡ He fought

\* See the notes to Vol. I.—the narrative of a journey to Pelusium.

† Bonaparte was fond of novels. One evening, however, said Lavallette, "Come, Mr. Enthusiast, read me that famous letter from La Meillerie!" It was in Cairo, it beat suffocating. Lavallette, in shelter from the insects, had taken up behind the muslin of the General, who was in bed, and showed, as the reading advanced, the greatest signs of impatience; it stopped him, and bade good night in the following words: "That's enough, Lavallette; this passion is too much for me."

‡ Bonaparte brought eight aides-de-camp with him to Egypt; two perished there. Julian and Sulkowsky were

next [■] him [■] the Pyramids, and Mount Thabor; [■] crossed the desert by his side, and followed him [■] the murderous siege of St. John of Acre. This [■] a memorable period of Lavallette's life, and he was fond of recalling it to his recollection. His friends will never forget his narrative of the fourteenth assault commanded by Kleber, which he used [■] take [■] much pleasure in repeating. It seemed like a [■] taken from [■] epic poem.

The curtain that protected [■] great part of the town and the palace of Djezzar had been opened. The grenadiers of Kleber, brought back to the trenches by a strong fire of [■] ketry, openly demanded a fresh assault. Bonaparte hesitated; however, pressed by these brave men, he gave the signal. The [■] grand and terrible! The grenadiers rushed forward under a shower of bullets; Kleber, with [■] giant-like stature and [■] thick head of hair, had taken [■] post, sword in hand, [■] the [■] of the ditch, from whence he animated the assailants. The sound of [■] [■], [■] [■] of

murdered by [■] Arabs; Croisier was [■] at St. [■] [■] Acre, [■] Guibert [■] Aboukir; Duroc and Eugene Beauharnais were severely wounded; Lavallette [■] in [■] the hottest encounters, and escaped.

rage and enthusiasm of our soldiers, and the roarings of the Turks, were mixed [redacted] thundering [redacted] of his voice. In the mean while General Bonaparte, standing in the breach battery, followed the [redacted] with a spying-glass resting on the fascines. A bullet passed over his head, and the shock threw him down. In vain Berthier pressed him to leave his perilous post; he received [redacted]. At the [redacted] instant a bullet mortally wounded the young and unfortunate Arrighi, who stood between the General-in-Chief [redacted] Lavallotte; others were killed by his side, and [redacted] he did not make the slightest motion to retire. All of a sudden the column of the besiegers stopped. Bonaparte rushed forward and over the ditch emitting flames; thick grape-shot [redacted] from under the ground and beat down whoever dared to approach; the troops, however, persisted with incredible ardour. Kleber, enraged, was striking [redacted] thigh with his sword, but the General-in-chief, convinced that the obstacle [redacted] not to be surmounted, gave, by a sign with [redacted] hand, the order for the retreat.

It was thus that the siege of [redacted] John of Acre concluded. Bonaparte having left Syria and added to his immortal campaign the bulletin of

## COUNT LAVALLETTÉ.

Absoulteir, delivered [REDACTED] command of [REDACTED] army into [REDACTED] hands of Kleber; and after stopping [REDACTED] Corsica [REDACTED] his way, he was received on the shores of France by the enthusiasm of [REDACTED] citizens, carried in triumph to Paris, where he overthrew, [REDACTED] it were with a breath, the worm-  
[REDACTED] throne of the Directors. France applauded when the young hero, borne upon the consular shield by his lieutenants, appeared in her eyes [REDACTED] an umpire and a saviour. Lavallette had followed Bonaparte [REDACTED] his return, and [REDACTED] useful to him in the coup [REDACTED] main of the 18th Brumaire.

War, however, continued with Austria. The French Government wished to have [redacted] the eventful scene, [redacted] capable of judging which [redacted] would be most favourable for a [redacted] gotiation. Lavallotte [redacted] sent to Dresden, with all the necessary powers to treat of peace with Austria; but General Moreau was [redacted] Hohenlinden [redacted] the real negotiator for France. Peace [redacted] concluded, and Lavallotte returned [redacted] Paris.

Here ended his military and diplomatic career. The First Consul, whose chief care was towards his reign, which had already begun, though under a republican form, wished

to ~~encourage~~ himself in the Government of France, — those among his companions in ~~service~~ of whose fidelity, zeal, and talent — had received proofs. Lavallete — chosen among the first. Appointed in the beginning Commissioner-General of the Post Office, he obtained — the establishment of the empire the title of Postmaster-General, to which Bonaparte, at a later period, added those of Count, Counsellor of State, and Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.

M. Lavallette gave himself wholly up to the duties of his situation. [REDACTED] ambition [REDACTED] satisfied. So that when, in 1815, Napoleon offered him the Ministry of the Home Department, he preferred resuming the functions he had already fulfilled, in difficult times, with equal zeal and

It must, in fact, not be forgotten  
he had to organize the service of the Post-  
office at a time when France, bounded on  
both the Peninsulas, and kept up armies in all  
Europe. He was, in measure, the centre  
from whence motion and power to depart and  
circulate over his vast empire. He constantly  
maintained, with a laudable ardour, the sacred  
connections of the soldiers with their mother

country ; the exchange of glory and enthusiasm between the army and the citizen. ■■■ elevated station, put ■■■ in possession of many family secrets. Never could policy oblige him ■■■ reveal them. "With him candour ■■■ effusion of heart ■■■ carried any danger with them."\*

We need not recall, then, the many famous events which ■■■ up the period of the empire, but which have no connection with the present sketch. We may pass ■■■ the golden dreams of ■ man too strongly intoxicated with his fortune ;—we may leave M. Lavallette, governing during twelve years the Post-office with a firm and discreet hand; carrying to the discussions of the council of state his knowledge, clear judgment, and the inspirations of his upright conscience ; shining in the circles of an elegant and polished court ; and towards the decline of so much grandeur, when the soil began ■ tremble beneath the throne, giving to the Emperor the bold advice of a friend, which ■■■ proudly rejected. The world knows the ■■■

The events of 1814 restored Count Lavallette to private life, from which he did not stir

\* ■■■ spoken by General Sebastiani ■■■ ■■■ tomb of Lavallette.

until after the return of Bonaparte to the capital — the [redacted] of [redacted] of the following year. Attempts have been made to place in [redacted] light the motives that rallied him to the Imperial throne after the whole army [redacted] acknowledged the Emperor, and in the midst of such exciting circumstances. These motives, however, he drew from [redacted] conscience. "He was accused of having been prejudiced; *he* [redacted] convinced he had been faithful.\*"

His return to public affairs [redacted] marked by [redacted] act of moderation, of which he in vain set the example to his enemies. One of the chief clerks of his department [redacted] in a busy [redacted]ner and presented him with a list of suspected persons; M. Lavallette let him speak out, and when the informer had finished, he said to him: "Pray, Sir, have you ever looked an honest man in the face?" The clerk, abashed, faltered out a few confused words—"Well, Sir, now you may learn who I am," and taking the list he threw it into the fire.

M. Lavallette [redacted] frequently called to the Emperor during the Hundred Days. He [redacted] him in his councils and in [redacted] privacy. The Emperor [redacted] resolved not to continue [redacted]

\* Words of Count Montlomier.

unless it — to defend the soil. The spirit of liberty had made ■ way to him ; his table re-echoed with liberal professions that perplexed him. ■ said at ■ time to M. Lavallette, ■ the secret bitterness of ■ confidential conversation : " But what do they want ? ■ liberty of the press ? I shall give them ■ of it perhaps than they wish. Let them only suffer ■ to ■ France." France ■ again invaded ; and the fortune of the Emperor expired ■ the field of Waterloo.

That event ■ for Count Lavallette the beginning of a series of unheard of sufferings. Secure in the persuasion of his innocence, he remained in Paris ; but he was apprehended on the 18th of July, while at table with his friends. He ■ placed in solitary confinement. His trial began : the preparations ■ tedious and threatening. The fate of Labedoyère, then of Marshal Ney, ■ bad omens for ■ own. On the 19th of November he appeared before the jury accused of having been ■ accomplice in the ■ conspiracy which brought ■ the events of the preceding 10th of March ; he defended himself in the most noble manner ;\* but after two days'

\* ■ celebrated Tripiier helped him with his advice, and gave him proofs of ■ ■ generous friendship.

discussion, overwhelmed by the force of [REDACTED] internal passions which had been excited by [REDACTED] reaction, and [REDACTED] daring enough to seek vengeance through the medium of the law, [REDACTED] sentenced [REDACTED] death. [REDACTED] heard [REDACTED] read with great calmness, and said with a firm voice [REDACTED] his sorrowing friends, "My friends, [REDACTED] is a cannon-ball." Then turning to the numerous clerks of the Post-office who had borne witness against him, he made them [REDACTED] salute with his hand, and said: "Gentlemen of the Post-office, receive my farewell greetings."

[REDACTED] voice, which resounded mildly, yet firmly through the court, amidst the general consternation, might have made people suppose he [REDACTED] resigned; but, when he returned to his solitary dungeon, the old soldier felt his heart quail at the thoughts of the death that awaited him. He wrote [REDACTED] one of his old companions in [REDACTED] who [REDACTED] that time enjoyed great influence [REDACTED] court, to beg he would solicit for him the favour of being shot. A cruel refusal was the only [REDACTED] he received from his friend. From [REDACTED] moment the consciousness of the injustice under which [REDACTED] suffered, stimulated [REDACTED] courage. He endeavoured to reconcile his mind to the idea of that death [REDACTED] which he [REDACTED] dismayed:

he listened ■ the description the turnkeys made  
■ ■ humiliating preparations by which ■  
■ preceded, and of the horrible details of ■  
execution. He made them repeat their story  
several times, and insisted ■ knowing all. At  
last, after having struggled for ■ time with  
■ horror of these gloomy thoughts, which ■  
his days and agitated his sleep with frightful  
dreams,\* he at last felt himself capable of tran-

\* One dream in particular left very deep impressions on the mind of Lavallette, which time itself was not able entirely to efface. This is the manner in which he related it:

"One night, while I was asleep, the clock of the Palais de Justice struck twelve, and awoke me. I heard the gate open to relieve the sentry; but I fell asleep again immediately. In this sleep, I dreamed that I was standing in the Rue St. Honoré, at the corner of the Rue de Rivoli. A melancholy darkness spread around me; all was still, nevertheless a low and uncertain sound . . . All of a sudden, I perceived at the bottom of the street, and advancing towards me, a troop of cavalry, the horses, however, were shaggy. The men had torches in their hands, the red light of which illuminated without skin and bloody muscles. Their hollow eyes stared fearfully in their sockets; their mouths opened from ear to ear, the helmets of hanging hair covered their hideous faces. The horses dragged along their own skins in the kennels, which overflowed with blood . . . They appeared and disappeared alternately at the windows, in dismal silence; low, inarticulate groans filled the air; and

quilly awaiting death; all thoughts were then directed to the comforting of his family and ■■■■■ “Why do you deplore me?” he said to them; “an honest man may ■■■■■ murdered, but his conscience follows him to the scaffold.”

Days, however, passed on. The Court of Cassation ■■■■■ rejected ■■■■■ writ of ■■■■■ a petition for pardon, presented by ■■■■■ La-vallette, and vainly supported by the cou-

I remained in the street alone, petrified with horror, and deprived of strength sufficient to ■■■■■ my safety by flight. This horrible troop continued passing in a rapid gallop, and casting frightful looks on me. Their march, I thought, continued for five hours; and they were followed by ■■■■■ immense number of artillery-waggons, full of bleeding corpses, whose ■■■■■ still quivered; a disgusting smell of blood and bitumen almost choked ■■■■■ At length, the iron gate of the prison shutting with great force, awoke ■■■■■ again. I made my repeater strike; ■■■■■ no more than midnight, ■■■■■ that the horrible phantasmagoria had lasted ■■■■■ than two ■■■■■ three minutes—that is to say, the time necessary for ■■■■■ lieving the sentry and shutting the gate. ■■■■■ cold ■■■■■ ■■■■■ the watchword short. The ■■■■■ day, ■■■■■ turnkey confirmed my calculations. I nevertheless do ■■■■■ one single event in my life, ■■■■■ duration of which I have ■■■■■ more exactly to calculate, of which the ■■■■■ ■■■■■ deeper engraved in my memory, and of which I preserve a more perfect consciousness.”

rageous zeal of the Duke de Raguse, [REDACTED] been refused. The day of execution approached. The unfortunate man had [REDACTED] hope left : the turnkeys themselves trembled, [REDACTED] they came near him, with pity and emotion. On the [REDACTED] of that [REDACTED] day, the Countess Lavallette [REDACTED] tered [REDACTED] prison. She [REDACTED] put on a pelisse of merino, richly lined with fur, which [REDACTED] was accustomed to [REDACTED] when she left a ball-room : in her reticule she [REDACTED] a black silk gown. Coming up to her husband, she assured him with a firm voice, that [REDACTED] was lost, and that he had nothing more to hope than in a well-combined escape. She showed him the woman's attire, and proposed to him to disguise himself. Every precaution had been taken to secure his escape. A sedan-chair would receive him on his coming out of prison ; a cabriolet waited for him at the Quay des Orfèvres ; a devoted friend, a safe retreat, would answer any farther objections. M. Lavallette listened to her without approving of a hazard. [REDACTED] a plan : he [REDACTED] resigned to his fate, [REDACTED] refused to fly from it. " I know how [REDACTED] my part in a tragedy," he said, " but spare me the burlesque farce. I [REDACTED] be apprehended in [REDACTED] ridiculous disguise, and they will, perhaps,

expose me to ■■■ mockery of the mob! On the other hand, if I escape, you will remain ■ prey to the insolence of prison valets, and ■■■ persecution of my enemies!"

"If you die, I die; ■■■ your life to ■■■ mine!"

The prisoner yielded ■ her urgent entreaties. "Now put ■ the disguise," she added; "■ time to go; ■■■ farewell—no tears—your hours ■■■ counted!"

And when the toilet ■■■ finished,  
"Adieu!" she said; "do not forget to stoop when you pass under the wickets, for fear the feathers of your bonnet should stick fast!"

She then pulled the bell, and rushed behind ■■■ The door opened; he passed, followed by an old servant of his wife, and leaning on his daughter's arm. When they arrived ■ the sedan chair, the chairmen ■■■ not there. The soldiers of the guard-house had assembled ■ see Madame Lavallette, and looked ■■■ without moving! This ■■■ ■■■ fearful moment. The ■■■ arrived ■ last; the chair went off. A few minutes later, ■ cabriolet, drawn by ■ swift horse, rolled ■■■ the stones of the Pont Michel.\*

\* These particulars, and those that follow, are ■■■

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This took place on the 2nd of December. Lavallette remained concealed in Paris until the 10th of January. A singular favour of fortune gave him in ~~a~~ ~~the~~ the very roof under which lived one of the political enemies,\* equally powerful by his name, his station, and his wealth. From the garret floor which Lavallette inhabited, he heard persons crying in the streets the police ordinance which prescribed search after his person. The barriers were shut; the deliverance of passports suspended; expresses, bearing the description of his person, were flying about on every side. In the Chambers, in the court circles, the utmost consternation prevailed among those who were convinced that all was lost if M. Lavallette was not retaken. Paris, however, rejoiced, while the police, falsely accused of connivance, burned with impatience to damp the public joy, and answer, by a feat worthy of its zeal, the complaints of the gilded drawing-rooms, and the reproaches that re-echoed from the tribune.

thing more than a very concise abridgment of the narrative ~~that~~ Lavallette used frequently to make ~~in~~ friends, ~~which~~ appears in a complete ~~one~~ in the second volume of the Auto-Memoirs.

"~~He~~ was a ~~man~~ ~~he~~ kept until his death, ~~which~~ his memoirs will now explain to the public.

■ the midst of all these dangers, Count Lavallette lived, protected by a family ■ whom he ■ personally unknown, but whose ■ rageous friendship helped him to bear the agonies of his concealment. ■ days passed on between agreeable conversation and diversified reading : ■ double-barrelled pistol, ■ under ■ pillow, like a talisman, secured to him some nightly rest. This lasted seventeen days. Finally, ■ the 9th of January 1816, ■ eight o'clock in the morning, he went on foot with a friend to Captain Hutchinson's lodgings, and next day, at the very hour when ■ gibbet ■ being put up ■ the Place de Greve for his ■ ecution in effigy, he set off, dressed in English regimentals, with Sir Robert Wilson, crossed the barriers in an open cabriolet, and proceeded to Mons. During this journey, M. Lavallette, who did not know one word of English, was forced to keep ■ handkerchief to his face, as if he had been suffering from a violent tooth-ache, that he might not be under the necessity of speaking to the ■ English officers that stopped his guide on the road. Once, ■ Compiegne, having entered a public ■ in ■ inn, a travelling clerk of ■ trading house ■ him the whole history of his escape from prison,

accompanied by the ■■■ ridiculous circumstances, and adding between every sentence the words, " You may believe me, for I ■■■ in Paris ■■■ the time." Another time, near the frontiers, ■ captain of gendarmerie asked for their passports, and took them with him. M. Lavallette travelled under the ■■■■■ of Colonel Loessack.\* The Captain ■■■■■ back ■ long while afterwards, saying that there ■■■■■ Colonel of that ■■■■■ in the English army. ■ Robert replied, that he ■■■ talking nonsense ; — that they ■■■ fools for staying ■ long ; and, making ■ sign to the postillions, they ■■■ off at full speed. At Mons his generous guide ■■■ to leave him. M. Lavallette, deeply affected, pressed his hands while expressing his gratitude ; but Sir Robert, still maintaining his wonted gravity, smiled without replying. At last, after half an hour's silence, he turned to M. Lavallette, and said, in the most serious manner possible, " Now pray, my dear friend, why did you not like to be guillotined ?" M. Lavallette stared ■ him, surprised ■ such ■ question ;—“ Yes,” added Sir Robert, “ I have been told you solicited as a favour to be shot.”

\* M. Lavallette ■■■■■ not ■■■■■■■ of Caesar until he arrived ■■■■■

"Because the condemned person is placed in a cart, his hands tied behind his back; then he is bound to a plank which is slipped under the axe."

"Ah! I understand; you did not wish to have your throat cut like a calf.\*"

M. Lavallette crossed a part of Germany, and entered upon the hospitable soil of Bavaria. The King received him with great zeal, and protected him against the French Ministry, who insisted on his being delivered up to them. The Duchess of St. Leu offered him her house; and Prince Eugene lavished on him all the consolations of friendship.

In 1822, letters of pardon, granted by Louis XVIII. restored him to his native country. M. Lavallette thus hoped to enjoy still some happy days; but, when he arrived in Paris, in the midst of the congratulations that poured on him from all sides, one voice remained silent, and that was his wife's! From that decisive hour, when, with such overpowering energy she had arranged his escape, and remained an hostage in his place, she had not seen him. And when she looked upon him without emotion and without tears: she knew him not!

\* This anecdote is literally repeated in the Memoirs.

The unfortunate lady [■] spent all her [■]  
[■] in saving him !

This last trial surpassed all the rest. M. Lavallette [■] overwhelmed by it. He wrote to the King :—" Your Majesty [■] restored to me possessions I prized more than life ; but all your royal favour [■] never counterbalance my misfortune."

His unfortunate situation traced [■] him the path he ought to follow. He gave up the world, where he had left such brilliant recollections and [■] many [■] friends, and devoted himself to complete solitude, which he only once left to go to London in 1826, and support Sir Robert Wilson's election. His life [■] [■] continued scene of devotion. He repaid his wife by daily care, and by pious and delicate attentions, almost as great [■] he had received from her ; and when [■] overtook him, he expired tranquilly, for he left [■] debt behind him.

Study was the only comfort he had in his [■] retirement ; during [■] his lifetime he had cultivated literature with assiduity and enthusiasm. In the camp before Mentz, [■] the table of General Bonaparte, in the drawing-room of the Tuilleries, [■] always passed for a remarkably

witty man ■■■■■ most agreeable ■■■■■ His misfortunes multiplied for him opportunities for study and reflection, ■■■■■ that, when ■■■■■ returned from exile, he had nothing to do but to follow ■■■■■ movement and progress of New France. Though far from his country, he had advanced with her; he had her manners, her enduring patience, her confident hope in future events,\* her ardour for useful reform, her freedom from all ridiculous delusions. His mind possessed all the freshness of youth, and he viewed with enthusiasm the efforts making in favour of glory and liberty. The consequence was, that he was respected by men of all ages, but that he was more particularly pleasing to the young. They loved to hear him speak; all the past lived in his recollection, with its real colours, adulterated neither by ■■■■■ enthusiasms ■■■■■ by regret for the high station he ■■■■■ lost. Numberless witty sayings, interesting and unexpected, flowed without effort in his rich and easy conversation. His imagination gave a colouring to objects; but fiction was repugnant to his just and accurate mind. ■■■■■

\* ■■■■■ Lavalette shoukd have lived ■■■■■ few months longer. ■■■■■ Revolution of July ■■■■■ realized ■■■■■ hopes, ■■■■■ would have ■■■■■ all his wishes.—Note of the French Editor.

lively discourse, like an amusing book, kept his friends by his side till night was far advanced, and cheated time in rapid flight.

Death, however, unexpectedly aimed his arrow at his victim amidst his books and his unfinished labours. Even the day preceding his decease was devoted to study and friendship. Under the hoary frost of age, his mind preserved all its vigour; his heart was young by the warmth of his virtues.

This reflection comforts me.

Though he fell beneath an unexpected blow, Count Lavallette died in the sixty-first year of his age, surrounded by his family, and regretted by his friends.

If he had died in 1815, by the political sword which struck so many other victims, fifteen years of his existence would have been suddenly cut off (not the happiest surely): but what a cruel death awaited him, what a funeral! laid on a public thoroughfare, transporting his mutilated remains, and the cries of the Grève, the solitude of Clamart.

But the victim escaped. Banishment defended him against death; by degrees passions are calmed; rage and resentment appeased. Thus, we may breath the whole spirit of a

guinary trial ■■■■■ the dust; the justice of the sovereign ■■■■■ out the fatal page; ■■■■■ resumes ■■■ place and rank under the same Heaven that ■■■■■ as ■■■ canopy to his ■■■■■ cusers and his judges; and when his last hour arrives, ■■■ soul leaves the earth among the endearments and blessings of his children; religion receives him; his country honours ■■■■■ remains; his companions of all times, his friends of ■■■ parties, throng around him; the salute of the brave resounds over his grave, and Fame repeats to France the farewell of friendship.

Manes of victims, of whatever party, who have been condemned for political crimes, and on whom the thunderbolt has ■■■■■ in the fury of the storm, let the fate of Lavallotte comfort you:—you have all been restored to your rights in his person!

CUVILLIER FLEURY.

**MEMOIRS**  
**OR**  
**COUNT LAVALLETTE.**



## TO THE READER.

I [REDACTED] should have determined to record, in writing, the events which have passed before my eyes, nor [REDACTED] those in which I have acted [REDACTED] part during eight and twenty years, [REDACTED] I not been involved in so conspicuous a [REDACTED] manner in the catastrophe that put [REDACTED] end to the Imperial Government; but I thought it my duty to leave, both to my family and my friends, an indisputable testimony of my innocence and general conduct. It would, moreover, be but ill requiting the interest with which so many honourable persons have favoured me, [REDACTED] maintain [REDACTED] silence which my enemies might misuse to justify their persecutions.

My [REDACTED] intention was to [REDACTED] only late events; but having been for above twenty

years attached ■ the Emperor Napoleon, it appeared ■ ■■ that I ought not to ■ over in silence ■■ part, ■ least, of his glorious history. Could I look upon myself ■ liberty ■ deprive posterity of any circumstances connected with a hero who will never ■■■ to engross attention? He has been exposed to the insults of ■ ungrateful contemporaries, and it ■ my duty to oppose truth to those insults. No exertion has been wanting on my side to avoid being led away by the deep affection I shall cherish to the end of my life for ■ man who has been my general, my sovereign, and my benefactor. It is not, however, his public actions, and still less the ■■■ which have ■■■ a lustre ■■■ his life, that I pretend to describe. He has still friends left among the generals who shared his toil and his glory: to them the noble task belongs. I shall paint the private man. Few persons have known him ■ well ■ I have; and historians gathering materials, may place full confidence in my recital. I shall mention ■ other facts than those of

which I have ■■■■■ an eye-witness; and I am much mistaken if my character will not prove a ■■■■■ voucher for their truth.

Still, I require much indulgence. I write far from my country,\* in deep solitude, often depressed by misfortune, and deprived of the materials requisite for recalling facts, dates, ■■■■■. The impressions are, however, still vivid in my memory and in my heart.

Many persons seeing my name on the title-page of these Memoirs will perhaps expect to find in them ■■■■■ abundant feast of anecdote and scandal: they will be mistaken. During thirteen years I ■■■■■ a delicate situation, thanks ■■■ which I have discovered some painful ■■■■■ of the human heart; but I will not disgrace my character by publishing them. It

\* A great part of ■■■■■ Memoirs ■■■■■ written in Bavaria, during ■■■ Lavallette's banishment, in his various ■■■■■ on the borders of Lake Starnberg, ■■■ Lichstadt, and ■■■ Augsburg. ■■■ will however ■■■ observed in reading the conclusion, ■■■■■ they ■■■■■ revised ■■■■■ ■■■■■ Paris, or rather ■■■■■ country ■■■■■ Sevres.—(Note of the Editor.)

It is my resolution that this work shall not be published during my life. Not that I wish to escape criticism; but because a feeling which honourable minds alone can appreciate, makes it a duty in me to occupy the public attention no longer with myself. My unfortunate celebrity has been dearly bought, and I now want rest rather than pity.

## MEMOIRS

### COUNT LAVALLETTE.

#### CHAPTER I.

My education and early tastes.—I witness the beginning of the Revolution.—Plunder of M. Reveillon's warehouses.—Convocation of the States General.—Taking of the Bastille.—Murder of M. Foulon.

I [REDACTED] born in Paris in 1769. My father having enjoyed a liberal education, [REDACTED] being sensible of its advantages, watched [REDACTED] mine with constant application. I went late to school, because my health [REDACTED] indifferent, [REDACTED] left it in 1788; after having, for eight years, filled my head with Latin, in which I never was [REDACTED] proficient, — and with Greek, which I have completely forgotten. My confessor [REDACTED] —

most excellent man, but he heated my imagination to preserve my morals. ■■■ put into my hands a great many religious books, and took a particular pleasure in making me learn the sacred orators by heart. I was so pleased with the sermons of Massillon, and the funeral orations of Bossuet, ■■■ I had no doubt but the church was my real calling. I tormented my family until I got permission to follow a course of lectures on theology; but the very first year was sufficient to disgust me. The method of disputing in bad Latin, the everlasting passion for proving both sides of the question, without presenting fixed ideas upon any subject whatever, inspired me with an aversion for study. I could not conceive why so much trash should be deemed a necessary introduction to the eloquence of the pulpit. I resolved, therefore, in preference, to follow the bar. My father observed with satisfaction the turn my ■■■ had taken, and it was decided that I should be placed, first, in a notary's, ■■■ then in an attorney's office. The

notary's business appeared to me still more irksome than theology. I remained, however, nearly a year with him, after which I went to the legal practitioner, and was fortunate enough to find him a sensible man. His name was Dommanget, and his love of his profession confined to the profits he drew from it. He possessed a large and well-chosen library; and as I cost him no salary, he suffered me to pass my time among his books. There I read many excellent works, and gained a taste for literature that has never diminished. I studied, in particular, the history of France, of which I had not previously the least idea. A strange system of instruction prevailed at that time. Thousands of young men every year left the university, after having finished their studies, their heads being filled with republican maxims, their minds inflamed with admiration of the virtue of the ancient commonwealths, cordially despising monarchical governments, and at the same time shamefully ignorant of the history of their mother country.

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■ once during my eight years' studies ■ I hear the name of Henry the Fourth pronounced; and I must own, that ■ the age of seventeen I was acquainted neither with the time nor the ■ in which the House of Bourbon mounted the throne.

The events that preceded the grand drama of ■ took me by surprise in the midst of my books and my love of study. I was then reading "L'Esprit des Lois," ■ work that charmed me by its gravity, depth, and sublimity. I wished also to become acquainted with the code of our own laws; but Dommanget, to whom I mentioned my desire, laughed, and pointed to the Justinian Code, the ■ law code of the kingdom, the parliamentary decrees, and the statutes of our kings, accompanied by an immense number of interpreters ■ commentators. ■ monstrous a heap of folio volumes made me shudder, ■ I concluded somewhat rashly, but like many other people, ■ it was better to ■ ■ the whole, ■ ■ load my memory

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with such obscure lore. To my graver studies I added the perusal of political pamphlets, which then began to be ■■■■■ Thus my imagination was excited, and, wiseacre of twenty ■ I was, I thought I should do well to unite with the meditations of my closet the observation of those ■■■■■ of disorder that were the harbinger of the Revolution.

There lived ■ that time in the Faubourg St. Antoine, a wealthy paper-hanging manufacturer called Reveillon. This man employed several hundred work-people, who, being dissatisfied with his refusal to raise their wages, and probably instigated by the enemies of their master, resolved to murder him and ransack the establishment by which they got their livelihood. The disturbance ■■■■■ in a great height, and the *guet*, ■ guard of the town, not being strong enough to suppress it, a detachment of the regiment of the Gardes Françaises ■ ordered out against the rioters. Wishing to be ■ witness of the scene, I went ■ the spot, and was standing between the plun-

derers and [REDACTED] troops, when the latter arrived by divisions and fired. Many persons [REDACTED] killed, several [REDACTED] sent to prison, and one man was, I believe, hanged a few days afterwards. [REDACTED] brutal [REDACTED] of restoring public order exasperated me, and I [REDACTED] understood that such [REDACTED] the custom of governments that wish, [REDACTED] the phrase is, to show energy and inspire [REDACTED] spect; in one word, that it is easier to repress crimes by force, than to prevent them by wisdom and resolution. The inhabitants of the suburb never forgot this military expedition; and I have good [REDACTED] to believe that it contributed greatly to keep alive the spirit of revenge and sedition that prevailed so long among the population of that part of Paris.

The resistance of the Parliament to the orders of Government caused great agitation in the public mind. The magistrates would [REDACTED] longer consent to administer justice; the [REDACTED] sel and attorneys would no longer follow their suits; all [REDACTED] clerks of the bar assembled tumultuously, and sided openly with the Parlia-

ment. These young ■■■ formed ■ that time ■ corporation ■■■ "La Bazoche." They had their own chiefs, observed a ■■■ of discipline, and ■■■ ■■■ peculiar dress. Though I was not enlisted in their body, one of my fellow clerks proposed that I should join them, ■■■ I ■■■ sented. We found them in the garden of the Luxembourg, several hundred in number, highly excited, and disposed to procure arms. I took it in my head to propose to several among them to attack the guard of the Théâtre Français, seize their muskets, and march against the battalion of the guards stationed in the Place Dauphine. My proposal ■■■ received with enthusiasm, and communicated ■■■ all the groupes. Some young men, more reasonable than the rest, and who probably had ■■■ there with the sole view of dissuading and restraining the others, expressed ■■■ wish to ■■■ the author of so wise a plan. One of them ■■■ amined ■■■ from head to foot. The shortness of my stature made him smile, and he found but little difficulty in proving the extravagance

of ■ resolution, the consequences of which ■■■■■ inevitably be ■■■■■ to us. The ■■■■■ violent among ■■■■■ left the garden to proceed towards the Place Dauphine. The soldiers stood dispersed with their arms piled beside them. We looked at one another; and I know not what would have been the result, ■■■■■ the drum had not suddenly beat to rally the troops.

These tumultuous scenes had already lasted eighteen months, and by the ridiculous success obtained in the Faubourg St. Antoine, Government seemed persuaded that the armed force would be sufficient to ■■■■■ all ends. The States General had assembled ■■■ Versailles, having been summoned at once by the Parliament, who wished to embarrass the Court and revenge itself,—by the Ministers, who knew not which way to act,—and by the majority of the nation, justly discontented with ■■■ incapable Government, and perhaps also tired of too uniform ■■■ tranquillity. The States General soon felt that the system and prejudices of the

Court would be insuperable obstacles to the redress of the evil. They wished for a plan of government in which the rights of the nation — large, rather than those of the privileged classes, might be considered. M. Necker, who was a clever financier, a philosopher, and by birth the citizen of a republic, encouraged them. But the King, yielding to the representations of his courtiers, and to a secret aversion he entertained for M. Necker, dismissed him from his councils. The news of this event reached Paris abruptly on the 12th of July, at a moment when the inhabitants were dispersed in the several public walks. It spread confusion and grief — sides; whilst the busts of M. Necker and the Duke of Orleans were carried in triumph through the streets. Orators, mounted on chairs in the ~~Hotel~~ Royal, drew crowds around them. "All is lost," they said: "the States General are to be dissolved. Already your most zealous defenders are obliged to fly, and you will groan under an insufferable load of taxes, and the sanguinary

caprice of ■ horrible despotism." The agitation occasioned by speeches of this kind was considerably augmented by the presence of the Swiss soldiers. Government wanted to make ■ of the regiment of the Guards to disperse those whom they called rebels; but the soldiers pushed their officers back, and took the part of the people. A detachment of the ■ giment of Royal German cavalry presented itself, and ■ hooted. They tried to charge the crowd, but they ■ fired at, and the Swiss encamped in the Champ de Mars were sent away. The mob, grown furious through exasperation, then fell upon their natural enemies, the persons employed by the Ferme générale for the collection of the excise duties. These persons were forced to conceal themselves, and the barriers ■ ■ ■ fire. In the midst of this disorder a ■■■■■ suddenly spread, fearful ■ in its uncertainty, that robbers ■ approaching to ransack the capital. This ■■■■■ best but ■ ridiculous joke, the inventors of which, however, seemed well

acquainted with the character of the Parisians. The citizens, after remaining peaceful spectators of this great tumult, showed at last — signs of spirit, and on the 18th of July, above two hundred thousand — had armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find. The — of this general insurrection terrified the Court, and all the regular troops disappeared from the environs of the capital.

At length arrived the 14th of July, a day for — famous, an era for ever memorable, in the annals of France, and almost equally so in the history of every other nation; for there exists — people whose political and civil existence has not been considerably modified by the French Revolution.

For the mob to pursue police officers, collectors, and spies, is — natural thing; but how did an immense population first conceive the idea that their fate was connected with the taking of the Bastille, and persuade themselves that their victory was complete when they — masters of it?

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The fortress of the Bastille was built in the reign of Charles the Fifth, ■■■ time when fire-arms were scarcely known. Situated without the precincts of the city, beyond the Porte St. Antoine, it ■■■ evidently ■■■ intended as ■ check upon the metropolis. It ■■■ the King meant to keep his treasures there ; but the interior distribution clearly evinced that ■■■ destined to ■■■ as ■ state prison. This pretended fortress consisted of five towers, about one hundred and twenty feet high, joined together by strong high walls, and surrounded by broad deep ditches. Its entrance ■■■ protected by drawbridges, and on the 14th of July it ■■■ commanded by a governor, and defended by about sixty Swiss veterans ; ■ few old guns, of small size, ■■■ placed on the terraces of the towers. There ■■■ nothing very formidable in its appearance ; but something like a superstitious terror pervaded the minds of the people, and most marvellous stories ■■■ told respecting the Bastille. For many ages, the most noble victims of despotism had groaned within

its mysterious walls. Some prisoners, who had been fortunate enough to escape from it, had published most terrifying accounts. Those formidable towers, those vigilant sentinels, who suffered no one, — by stealth, to — a look towards them ; — these — ferocious-looking guards, frightful by their appearance, and — frightful still by their deep silence,— all united to excite terror and anxious curiosity. Nevertheless, this state prison — not dangerous for the people : it was designed for persons of high birth, or for literary people who ventured to displease the ministry. But to the wish of satisfying curiosity — added a noble feeling of pity for the — victims supposed to be shut up in the fortress, and the whole population of Paris resolved to make themselves masters of the Bastille. A considerable number of muskets and some — — — — deposited at the Invalids. The mob repaired to that place, seized them, and rushed against the Bastille, — by the Gardes Françaises. A few cannon were fired, but did not

much injure the walls. The governor answered by some [redacted] that were lost in the Rue St. Antoine. Terror and rage soon rose to the highest pitch. The governor [redacted] neither troops nor ammunition sufficient to defend himself. He had not even received any positive orders to [redacted] effect. It is said that he lowered the drawbridge to receive a deputation of patriots summoning him to surrender. Hulin, afterwards a general, who was [redacted] of the deputation, assured me, that on entering the governor's court, he and [redacted] companions were fired on. The governor was arrested first, the Swiss major afterwards, and the Bastille was taken. These two officers were dragged to the Place de Grève, and loaded with blows and imprecations. I was there with the unformed battalion of my district. The unfortunate major passed before our ranks; his stature was tall, and his aspect venerable. Two men held him by the throat, and cried with furious gestures, "Here is the villain!" The major [redacted] to keep up a bold appearance, but dismay [redacted]

agony were painted in ■■■ countenance. A few minutes afterwards ■■■ heard the report of ■■■ fire-arms. A pistol shot had put ■■■ end to his sufferings. That terrible spectacle inspired me with ■ horror and disgust for the licentiousness of the mob, that nothing ■■■ could allay; and the ■■■ I have yet to describe were but too strongly calculated to augment those sentiments.

I could, however, in ■■■ way comprehend, that foreigners who ■■■ killed Frenchmen might, in the first heat of battle, be slaughtered by ferocious conquerors who had no idea of the laws usually observed in war; but I never could explain the murder of Messrs. Foulon and Berthier de Sauvigny. The former had been, I believe, Intendant of Paris, and the latter ■■■ his son-in-law, and ■■■ in that employ. In the province, ■■■ Intendant was, through his functions and influence, ■■■ considerable personage. His character, ■■■ abilities, might create esteem, or, ■■■ it ■■■ frequently happened, ■■■ incapacity might excite

dislike. In Paris, on the contrary, the Intendant ■■■ in ■ manner lost ■■■ the immensity of the city. In times of scarcity, the people blamed the *Prévôt des Marchands*, the Lieutenant of Police, and sometimes the Parliament. The Intendant not being ■ magistrate, ■■■ unknown to the multitude; ■■■ I dare assert, without fear of being contradicted, that among the middling, and still less among the lower classes, no one ■■■ acquainted either with his person or his name. They knew at best the way to his office, where the taxes used to be paid. All of ■ sudden, however, ■ rumour ■■■ spread about, that the Intendant had said, and repeated aloud, that "hay ■■■ good enough to feed the Parisian rabble." Messrs. Foulon and Berthier had fled. Some zealous patriots pursued and overtook them at about twenty leagues from Paris. They brought them back, and ■■■ hundred wretches butchered them, under circumstances of atrocious barbarity. I crossed ■■■ Place de Grève to go to the *Comédie Française*; it rained, and

there was no tumult any where but facing the Hôtel de Ville. I was standing on the parapet, when I saw raised above the crowd the figure of an old man with grey hair; — the unfortunate Foulon being hanged at the lamp post. I returned home to study my beloved Montesquieu; and from that moment I began to hate a revolution, in which people were murdered without being heard in their defence.

## CHAPTER II.

Organization of the National Guards.—Lafayette.—Bailly.  
—The 5th and 6th of October at Versailles.—The King returns to Paris.

THE tumult which on the 14th had been only a riot, next day became a decided revolution, the consequences of which were not to be calculated. The taking of the Bastille had elated the minds of the people: three thousand disciplined troops (the Gardes Françaises) formed the vanguard of an army above one hundred thousand strong, of which at least thirty thousand were armed with muskets. It would have been impossible either to attack or disband that army. The government, taken unawares, was forced to abandon its organization, and the choice of M. de Lafayette

■ commander in chief. The *Prévôt* ■ Mar-chands and city magistrates had fled. In their place ■ put ■ mayor and common council, titles already in ■ in several French towns. M. Bailly ■ elected. He ■ ■ a celebrated astronomer and ■ clever writer. The States General ■ chosen him for their president. The whole organization was complete in three days; and on the 17th the King came to Paris, where he legitimatized by his presence and his speeches all the outrages that had been committed. This step taught ■ friends what they had to expect of him, and the partizans of the Revolution all they might dare to undertake. Rebellion had reached its highest pitch: sol-diers and official persons had been killed in the exercise of their duty, and still the sovereign spoke hesitatingly ■ the subject of these crimes,

The provinces, encouraged by the example of Paris, hastened to follow it. The same ■ riers ■ brought down to the country in-telligence of ■ revolution of the metropolis,

carried back accounts of similar occurrences in the several places they had passed through. The States General, which had given the impulse, received it in their turn. The two first estates were obliged to unite to the third. The Assembly took the title of a Constituent Assembly, and from that moment set themselves to work to raise a monarchy where the nation was to be represented by its deputies. Then began the long struggle between new interests and uncurbed passions. The King was a stranger to all the ideas that had circulated for thirty years among his subjects. Bred in the maxims and customs of an absolute monarchy, he could not but observe with dismay the conduct of the assembly; and if he rejected the violent measures he was pressed to adopt, it was owing to the weakness of his character rather than to his wish to spare blood, and also to the hope that a more favourable chance might replace in his hands the authority that rebels had wrested from him. The only reasonable step would have been to call the

bly he ■ longer possessed the power of dissolving, by going still farther than they did; and to give of his own accord ■ constitution which would have maintained ■ of the privileges of the nobility, and determined the rights of the people. Such was, in fact, M. Necker's proposal: the King rejected it, and all ■ lost.\*

The plan of quitting Versailles, ■ establishing himself in some stronghold, appeared to the King the most advantageous one; but it was ■ discovered, and the patriots felt alarmed. The inhabitants of Paris had not only organized their military force, but also their poli-

\* The translator cannot help remarking, that M. de Lavallette has been betrayed by his memory in several parts of this passage. 1. The *Prévôt des Marchands* (M. de Flesselles) had *not* fled; he ■ murdered at the *Hôtel de Ville*, on the 14th of July, whilst presiding over the electors of Paris. 2. The ■ did *not* take the name of *Constituent Assembly*, that ■ having been used for the first time ■ years later. ■ ■ far from rejecting any plan of ■ Necker, the King, of ■ own accord, three weeks before these riots, (on the ■ of June,) proposed to the Assembly ■ complete constitutional charter, in thirty-five articles, which the Assembly rejected without even vouchsafing ■ ■ it.

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tical institutions. The sixty head-quarters of the several battalions were in the same time in many centres of districts, each of them having a president, secretaries, and officers. There all the idlers of the middle and lower orders went to listen to the popular orators, who practised themselves in that flow of hollow words that afterwards proved fatal. Three months later a rumour was suddenly spread in the districts that the King was preparing to fly. The population of the Faubourg St. Antoine was soon in motion. An immense number of people assembled before the Hôtel de Ville, declaring they would march to Versailles, and bring back the King. M. de Lafayette for a long while refused to put himself at their head; but at last, intimidated by their threats, and foreseeing that they would otherwise do without him, he gave word to the principal officers of the National Guards, inviting them to lead to Versailles all the reasonable citizens they could collect, to prevent if possible the fatal consequence he but too clearly anticipated.

COUNT LAVALLETTE.

from these disturbances. A great many National Guards, among whom were [REDACTED] incomplete companies of my battalion, went to the Hôtel de Ville, where I hastened to join them. There [REDACTED] found an enraged multitude exclaiming that they [REDACTED] betrayed, and stirring one another up to murder and [REDACTED] of outrage. At last the torrent began to move, thickening [REDACTED] advanced. The commander-in-chief marched foremost, followed by [REDACTED] and caissons, driven by inebriated women, the refuse of human kind. Then came the National Guards, the pelotoons of which were continually broken through by those furious wretches.

My company grew dissatisfied, and received [REDACTED] ill those who came amongst us, that no [REDACTED] would venture to approach [REDACTED]. Our march lasted eight hours, and night had closed in when we arrived at the [REDACTED] of Versailles. If the Court could have resolved to take violent measures, they must undoubtedly have succeeded. The National Guards [REDACTED] not amount to above six thousand [REDACTED]. The

ruffians that preceded and surrounded them ■■■ in number about eight or ten thousand, but kept such ■■■ order, that one charge of ■ few squadrons of horse would have been sufficient ■■■ disperse them, whilst ■ a volley or two of cannon-ball would have effectually prevented their return ; but the Court lacked courage, and the King thought his family safer in ■ badly guarded palace than on ■ high road surrounded by faithful troops. The arrival of the rabble dismayed the palace, made the regular soldiers stagger, and satisfied the Assembly. Those members who influenced its decisions were not unacquainted with the insults lavished ■■■ them at Court, ■■■ with the fate they had to expect if the King succeeded in escaping. The courtiers openly acknowledged that the most disgraceful death awaited the members who had begun to distinguish themselves in the contest. It ■■■ therefore resolved that the King should ■■■ to Paris and remain there ; but in all probability no ■■■ knew by whom he ■■■ to be escorted, and what outrages ■■■ about to ■■■

committed. We ~~were~~ in the great square facing the palace. The Flanders regiment was drawn up before us. The mob surrounded the military. Women, holding glasses of liquor in their hands, entertained the soldiers with vulgar tales and low jests. This was too strong a seduction for men indifferent to all political discussions. The want of discipline was too general for them to be able to resist such temptations, and all the exertions of their officers to maintain order were useless. The colonel either knew not what to do, or dared not make a resolution, for he had no positive orders. M. de Lusignan, who commanded the regiment, and whom I knew at a later period, was an honourable man; but how could he extricate himself from a difficult position, when, at fifty steps from him, the King was in as great perplexity as he? The regiment being seduced, the monarch had no other defence left than the Life Guards, the Cent Suisses, and his unserviceable court. The National Guards remained under arms until one

o'clock in the morning, when they got permission to retire ■ rest, but with orders to be ready ■ the first beat of drum. M. de Lafayette went up to the palace, where he strove to comfort the Royal Family, but was received with an appearance of distrust and coolness, ■ which, in fact, he could scarcely be ■ prised; for, having arrived at the head of a troop of enraged ruffians, he ■ in ■ way to be looked upon ■ their commander. He could not dissemble that the population of Paris, and even the Constituent Assembly, wished the King to fix his abode in the metropolis. The Court had therefore to decide whether they would consent to go there, ■ ■ out in search of some distant refuge. I cannot say whether ■ not these points were ■ discussed. It seems that the King ■ pected either military assistance, ■ a strong resolution of the Assembly, that might impress the multitude with awe. The prof- fered assistance of ■ ■ ■ Lafayette was ■ jected. The King declared that his guards

— sufficient for his protection, and that far from accepting the service of the National Guards of Paris, who were extremely devoted to his person, he did not even require those of the Versailles Guards, — whom Alexander Berthier (afterwards Marshal Prince of Neufchatel) — second in command. From him I heard that he was very ill-treated by the Court party; and though sincerely attached to the King, no one would hear his name mentioned from the day he had accepted a — mand in the National Guard.

At — o'clock we received permission to go to bed. I sheltered myself under the roof of a citizen, who granted me a chamber for my money. The man — attached to the King's household,—I cannot recollect in what quality: he pretended to be a warm patriot; and if I had lent an — to all he had to say of the inhabitants of the palace, and of the Queen herself, I might have thought myself fully justified in mixing with the rebels. I enquired very coolly from whence he — collected —

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those infamous stories. My question ■ first disconcerted him, but he ■■■■■ answered in an angry tone: "What I have been telling you is the talk of all Versailles; and yet if the Parisians take the Royal Family from us, they 'll beggar the whole town." I turned my back ■ the man, and went to sleep till six o'clock, when the drum beating the alarm summoned ■■■■■ to the square. The crime ■■■■■ already been committed in the shades of night. The report was, that the wretches had entered the palace by ■ secret and feebly guarded door ; they had murdered the guards that defended it, and pursued the Queen to her bedchamber, from whence she had but just time to escape to the King's apartments. I must own, that ■■■■■ great ■■■■■ my surprise and indignation, that I joined in the hue and cry of some of my ■■■■■ rades against the Marquis de Lafayette. We had been summoned by him to ■■■■■ and protect the Royal Family and ■■■■■ public tranquillity. Why then ■■■■■ left to be witnesses of such horrible crimes? Why had we

not been employed? Could there have been any doubt entertained of [redacted] fidelity? Surely one-half of the six thousand [redacted] mustered would have been sufficient to defend the palace, and would not have been overawed by an ill-armed rabble, exhausted at [redacted] by fatigue and intoxication. But it [redacted] too late; the victims had fallen, and those who [redacted] doomed to perish next were [redacted] yet beyond their reach. The Life Guards had barricaded themselves round the King's apartments; their resistance had dismayed the assassins, and given General Lafayette time to come up. He took all the military he fell in with, and the rabble filled the marble court, rending the air with their savage cries. I remained long in suspense concerning the general's conduct during that fatal night. The details of the proceedings instituted a short time afterwards against many persons who perhaps were not guilty, appeared to [redacted] far from satisfactory. I learned the truth [redacted] a later period, and Madame de Staél has published it in her Memoirs. The whole

misfortune — owing to the aversion of the Court to the Marquis de Lafayette,—to the stupid opinion still entertained, that the Royal Family — sacred in the eyes of the multitude, who would — dare to look them in the face ; and, above all, — the foolish presumption of the nobility, who wished to preserve their — clusive privilege of defending their sovereign. M. de Lafayette had insisted on guarding the palace with his faithful troops, and I venture to — that he had brought with him all the members of the National Guards who — most distinguished for their honourable feeling, courage, and loyalty ; but his offers — coolly and sarcastically rejected. However, notwithstanding that refusal and the insults that accompanied it, the general did not give way to culpable confidence. He visited the posts, and showed himself every where, until midnight. Tranquillity then prevailed — all sides. The rabble lay dispersed and asleep. At two in the morning the deepest silence reigned in the courts, — great square, and the streets of the

capital ; nothing seemed to forebode the approaching outrages. The palace [REDACTED] attacked a little before day-break. All eye-witnesses have declared that the mob entered by one of the communication doors which [REDACTED] been left open ; the unfortunate Life Guards who defended [REDACTED] their duty, for they [REDACTED] killed [REDACTED] their posts. But why was that door open, so near to the Queen's apartments ? The palace being of a vast extent, the Life Guards [REDACTED] not sufficiently numerous to protect it effectually ; but then why not close all the outlets ? or, rather, why not augment the guard with all the loyal persons that could be found ? Why, [REDACTED] the moment of the attack, [REDACTED] not ten thousand swords drawn by that nobility, so clamorous in their speeches, but who never knew how to defend the King they so bitterly regret ? Emigration had at that time not yet commenced. There were in Paris, Versailles, and the environs, [REDACTED] than twenty thousand noblemen, devoted by feelings of honour [REDACTED] interest [REDACTED] the defence of the throne and the

■■■ of the monarch ; notwithstanding which, Louis XVI. was forsaken by them — that fatal day, the plans of which ■■■ been openly arranged and proclaimed by those whose real aim — undoubtedly the murder of the Royal Family. I have not yet done with the nobility : their conduct on other occasions was ■■■ disgraceful than on this.

The mob crowded in the marble court, and wandering on the outside of the palace, began to express again their designs with frightful howlings. "To Paris ! to Paris !" were the first cries. Their prey ■■■ promised them, and then fresh cries ordered the unfortunate family to appear on the balcony. The Queen showed herself, accompanied by her children ; she was forced by threats to send them away. I mixed in the crowd, and ■■■ for the first time that unfortunate Princess : she ■■■ dressed in white ; her head ■■■ bare, and adorned with beautiful fair locks. Motionless, and in a modest and noble attitude, she appeared to ■■■ like a victim ■■■ the block. The enraged populace ■■■ ■■■

moved ■ the sight of ■■■ in ■■■ its majesty. Imprecations increased, and the unfortunate Princess could not even find ■ support in the King, for his presence ■■■ but augment the fury of the multitude. At last preparations for departure ■■■ ■■■ towards appeasing them than promises could have done, and by twelve o'clock the frightful procession ■ off. I hope such a scene will never be witnessed again. I have often asked myself, how the metropolis of a nation so celebrated for urbanity and elegance of manners,—how the brilliant city of Paris could contain the savage hordes I that day beheld, and who ■ long reigned over it! In walking through the streets of Paris, it seems to me, the features even of the lowest and most miserable class of people do not present to the eye any thing like ferociousness, or the meanest passions in ■■■ their hideous energy. Can those passions alter the features so as ■ deprive them of ■■■ likeness to humanity ■■■ does the terror inspired by the sight of ■ guilty wretch give ■■■ the semblance of ■

wild beast? These madmen, dancing in the mire and covered with mud, surrounded the King's coach. The groupes that marched foremost carried ■ long pikes the bloody and dishevelled heads of the Life Guards butchered in the morning. Surely Satan himself first invented the placing of ■ human head ■ the end of a lance. The disfigured and pale features, the gory locks, the half-open mouth, the closed eyes, images of death, added to the gestures and salutations the executioners made them perform, in horrible mockery of life, presented the most frightful spectacle rage could have imagined. A troop of women, ugly ■ crime itself, swarming like insects, and wearing grenadiers' hairy caps, went continually to and fro, howling barbarous songs, embracing and insulting the Life Guards. This ■ last-ed eight hours before the Royal Family arrived ■ the Place de Grève and alighted ■ the Hôtel de Ville, their first resting-place during protracted misery, that terminated some years afterwards in ■ horrible death.

Thus terminated the memorable ■■■ of October,—a day during which it ■ difficult ■ decide what ■ most to be regretted,—the imprudent weakness of the King, ■ the terrible necessity that forced the representatives of ■ noble nation to trample ■ the sacred rights of humanity, and the majesty of the throne, for the accomplishment of their grand design.

## CHAPTER III.

I am employed by M. d'Ormesson, ■■■ of the Presidents of ■■■ Parliament.—His advice and influence.—I become a Royalist.—The Marquis de Favras.—Silly conduct of the Nobility.

THE impression that frightful spectacle made ■■■ me, taught ■■■ that nature had not designed ■■■ to play ■ part in the Revolution, and that I ought to keep carefully aloof from it. But the sight of the Queen so shamefully insulted, and the fate that ■■■ preparing for her august children, inspired in me feelings of loyalty which grew stronger every day. I could not bear to think of the situation of the Royal Family, and the success of the patriots had caused them ■ show ■ presumptuous exultation that made ■■■ hate them. At that period ■ lucky circumstance allowed me to ■■■

my studies. The convents were suppressed, and a friend of my father got me admitted among the persons chosen to make out the catalogue of the Monks' library. Some time afterwards, M. d'Ormesson de Moiseau, one of the presidents of the Parliament of Paris, who had been appointed King's librarian, wished to employ a well-informed and laborious young man. I was introduced to him. He received me with a kindness that delighted me. He had been told that I knew a little Greek; he was himself deeply versed in that language, and to try my knowledge, he laid before me a Xenophon in two columns, Latin and Greek. I blushed at the sight of the formidable book. The hero himself, during his celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand, never was more perplexed than I. However, my courage revived when I looked at the president, whose amiable features inspired me with confidence. I owned that I had made but superficial studies in an obscure college; that I never had any share in the triumphs of the

university; and that my utmost exertions in Greek had not gone beyond the explanation of ■■■■■ fragments of Demosthenes. He smiled at my candour, and began to read fluently the Greek in French, requesting ■■■■■ to follow him in the Latin translation. During the time, he placed his hand between the two columns, ■■■■■ that I might ■■■■■ be made no ■■■■■ of the Latin. I could scarcely follow him. I had never met with ■■■■■ learned a Greek scholar, and I express-■■■■■ openly my admiration. He appeared satisfied with me,—partly, perhaps, because he ■■■■■ so with himself, and he promised to provide for me. I felt completely happy. A part of the day ■■■■■ spent among dusty old books, but I passed every morning ■■■■■ few hours with M. d'Ormesson. All I had to expect through ■■■■■ influence was merely an inferior employment in the King's library; but I looked upon that as the highest pitch of good fortune; and often since, when in the ■■■■■ brilliant situations, I have sighed in thinking of the sweet obscurity ■■■■■ had been promised. We were then ■■■■■ from

entertaining ■ idea that the ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ was designed for both of us, and, in conscience I must own, for having both done ■■■ duty. The painful gratitude with which I remember the kindness of that respectable gentleman will last ■ long ■ I live. I ■■■ hear the name of Ormesson without emotion; and whenever chance brought me in presence of some person of his family, I have felt an involuntary wish to address him, to speak of his unfortunate relation, and to solicit his friendship.

The generous kindness of M. d'Ormesson extended not only to my pecuniary welfare; he also gave ■■■■■ excellent advice ■ the conduct I was to observe in the world—pointed out to me, with truly paternal solicitude, the different quicksands I might encounter. In speaking of the King, he showed himself ■ subject whose loyalty was carried to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, though he deplored the ■■■ weakness that hurled the Monarch down the precipice through ■■■■■ of blood. “The

King," he said, " shudders at the thought of spilling — drop of blood; and all his — faithful friends will — without being able — save him. He has been warned of — mistake, but nothing — make him open his eyes; — have therefore no choice but resignation and death." All our conversation — upon the same subject; and M. d'Ormesson communicated to me the ardour of his — sentiments. Notwithstanding the horror I felt — the — of tumult that — witnessed every day, I still comprehended well enough that the Revolution being — struggle between the privileged classes and the nation, the latter would, if — cessful, reap advantages which it had — right to claim. I also felt, that as I did not my — belong — the privileged classes, I — — liberty to remain indifferent to their interests and their contest. But M. d'Ormesson fixed all my thoughts on the deplorable situation of the King — — family. My imagination took fire, and all I — perceived — — vir — — Prince in durance—his noble consort

and her children exposed to the ~~most~~ barba-  
~~ture~~ treatment; and I vowed from ~~this~~ mo-  
ment to take a share in ~~all~~ the plans ~~that~~  
should be attempted for their deliverance.

I must acknowledge that my disgust for the idle prattling of the Revolution not a little contributed to make ~~me~~ a royalist. I ~~am~~ far from refusing a just tribute of ~~warm~~ to the eminent talents of the Constituent Assem-  
bly, and only mean to speak of the assemblies of my section that were held every day, and where I ~~was~~ forced to assist ~~in~~ a national guard. The citizens of Paris ~~were~~ unquestion-  
ably very honourable men; but it must have been impossible for any person of good sense and some little instruction, not to feel disgusted ~~at~~ their foolish and extravagant speeches. Their mania for political assemblies and long orations was encouraged by the immense num-  
ber of gentlemen of the Bar, who made them-  
selves quite ridiculous by misusing perpetually their excessive facility of elocution. In my neighbourhood there ~~was~~ a lawyer of some

repute called B——, whose exuberance of speech  
■■■ truly marvellous. The objects of the deli-  
berations were necessarily very circumscribed ;  
but when that ■■■ opened his mouth, ■■■ were  
sure to be overwhelmed with a deluge of quo-  
tations ■■■ moral sentences, all frequently about  
■ lantern ■■■ the stall of an apple-woman. ■■■  
stentorian voice made the roofs ring ; and,  
after speaking for two hours, he ■■■ sure to  
be rewarded by thunders of applause. The  
orator then seemed to think himself a Mira-  
beau, and his auditors the Constituent Assem-  
bly deciding over the fate of France. These  
people setting the example, others, who, at  
first, listened to them patiently, wished to  
speak in their turn ; and three years afterwards  
they cut the throats of their instructors, and  
of those whom the latter had taught them to  
regard ■■■ hostile to their views.

In 1790, I frequently mounted guard in the  
palace. I expected to ■■■ in the countenance  
■■■ King ■■■ marks of grief ■■■ pride ;  
but, I ■■■ own, I saw nothing but listlessness.

■ enormous *emberpoint* — his eyes without expression — his gait deprived of all manner of dignity, disconcerted ■ my enthusiasm ;— but it rekindled ■ sight of the Queen and her children. She was ■ woman and a mother. Born in a foreign country, she had been entrusted to the honour of France. How strong ■ her claims on ■ profound devotion ! The errors of which she had been ■ cused, ■ supposing the truth of the accusations, were surely deserving of pardon among ■ nation frivolous enough to be vain of its ■ ruptness. For that unfortunate Queen, therefore, and for her children, my heart ■ moved by the most tender and respectful admiration. Madame Royale ■ then about thirteen years old : the dignity of her countenance — the ■ lancholy expression spread ■ her features ■ tender ■ age — the sincere piety that seemed ■ fortify her in her misfortunes, drew ■ from my eyes. I followed the Princesses ■ the chapel, and returned quickly ■ the ■ of the guards ■ ■ ■ again. I would

willingly have given my life for them. So much grandeur in such abasement—so much innocence and beauty threatened with such a fate, might well have ensured to them the protection of every Frenchman. Wherever I went, I spoke of them with a warmth of which, however, I could not succeed in making other young men of my age partake.

I could not imagine that there was not in the Constituent Assembly a strong and active party to ~~support~~ the Royal Family. I knew that M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was very much attached to the Queen. I wrote several letters to him to express my grief, and to beg he would employ my youthful courage. I suppose he looked upon me as a young enthusiast who might bring him into ~~danger~~ trouble: —he never answered me, and I believe he acted wisely.

I observed that M. d'Ormesson became less unreserved than usual in his conversation. I suppose he was himself terrified with the success of his plan for making ~~himself~~ a royalist; for,

having tried in vain to moderate the warmth of my zeal, he probably feared I should ruin both him and myself at the same time. When I asked him whether any measures had been taken to place the Royal Family in safety, he observed that the time for that would come; and then entered into general remarks, of which I could not comprehend the drift. One day, I had just left him when I learned the imprisonment of the Marquis de Favras. It was half past six o'clock in the morning: the particulars of the crime of which the Marquis was accused were not yet known; and already the speech delivered at the Hôtel de Ville by Monsieur, brother to the King, had been published. The Prince had demanded during the night that the Council should assemble at eight o'clock; and there he betrayed M. de Favras, his former servant,\* who had received his instruction, and acted by his orders, with whom he had

\* Favras had been attached to Monsieur the Captain of the Cent Suisses, or guards to the door.—(*Note of the Author.*)

arranged the flight of the King, of the Royal Family and himself. ■■■ made many protestations of ■■■ attachment to the ■■■ order of things and to the Constitution, and declared himself the first citizen of the kingdom. By that means he delivered ■■■ his confident to the rigour of the laws and to an infamous death on the gallows. The royalists were overwhelmed with dismay and indignation. The most sensible among them felt convinced that the royal cause ■■■ irretrievably lost, and that no hopes ■■■ left for the King. Such treachery, which could not but be the consequence of the most shameful cowardice, discouraged all the friends of the King. "What is to be done," said they, "for a Prince who suffers those who take up his defence to be sent to the scaffold,—who, far from trying ■■■ protect them, finds informers against them among ■■■ own family?" Of ■■■ faults committed by the Court, this ■■■ the ■■■ unpardonable. Excuses may be found ■■■ want of experience, resolution, and strength of mind; but to deliver up one's friends out of

fear,—to abandon them without ■■■ raising ■■■ hand to save them from the scaffold, is unpardonable baseness! M. de Favras was sentenced ■■■ death. I was ■■■ duty on the quai Pelletier, when the unfortunate man passed it in a cart, with ■■■ halter round his neck, and ■■■ hands tied before his breast. His confes-■■■ seemed ■■■ dejected ■■■ though he himself had been doomed to die. Favras on the ■■■ trary, by his noble attitude, his proud and ani-■■■ mated look, reminded me of Samblançay, ■■■ whose death Marot made those celebrated lines, "Lorsque Maillard," &c. He walked up to the Hôtel de Ville, uttered a few noble sen-■■■ tences, took great care not to expose the man who had ■■■ cruelly betrayed him, and coura-■■■ geously submitted to his fate. Some wretches were base enough to applaud. A few days before his death, he expressed ■■■ wish to ■■■ M. Talon, the Advocate-general. To him he ■■■ in confidence ■■■ the particulars of his plan, ■■■ the orders he ■■■ received from ■■■ Count de Provence. "Have you these orders

in writing?" asked the magistrate. "No."—  
"In that case you have nothing to do but to recommend to the King's generosity your wife and children, for you are ■ lost man." I heard twenty years ago, ■ Dresden, that the family of the unfortunate Favras lived in Bohemia in the greatest misery. My indignation ■ the strange and odious conduct of the Court in this affair ■ so strong, that I made no secret of it to M. d'Ormesson. "You ■ too young," he said, "and at too great ■ distance from the Court, to be able to judge of its motives. Supposing even M. de Favras had received orders, could the Royal Family acknowledge them? That man's death is undoubtedly ■ very unfortunate circumstance, but it ■ a necessary sacrifice to the King's safety. A subject's duty ■ to die for his master. He has perished, the victim of his loyalty. He has suffered ■ ignominious death; but God will receive him in grace, and his sentence will be rectified by posterity." I ■ too much respect for M. d'Ormesson to make any reply;

but he must certainly have perceived that he had not convinced me.

Twenty-eight years have ■■■ elapsed since the death of M. de Favras. I have read more than twenty times ■■■ all the particulars of his trial. Neither age, knowledge of mankind, experience, ■■■ the various events I have witnessed, have had power to weaken or modify the ■■■ impression I received. I am still ■■■ vinced that those who sacrificed him ■■■ guilty of ■ total want of honesty and good policy, and acted with ■■■ utmost baseness. By his conduct in ■■■ the King ■■■ irretrievably lost; and ■ part of his family inspired sentiments of hatred and contempt that still subsist to this day. Those sentiments were not felt alone by those who were by birth and rank connected with royalty; they ■■■ shared by every honest citizen. Many years afterwards I discovered in all classes the same energetic indignation; and when Louis XVIII. re-entered the metropolis, all those who were not ■■■ away by the enthusiasm of

novelty, and the number was great, had in the bottom of their heart and on their lips the name of the unfortunate Favras.\*

This enterprise, which so fatally terminated, augmented the distrust of the people, and was of wonderful service to the revolutionary party. Those who still believed that the King really intended to give the people their promised advantages were undeceived, and his enemies turned it to account to envenom their accusations. Libels were spread about with much profusion and such rapidity, that it became impossible for the Court to offer any defence. It was about that time that the rage of emigration began. It appeared an easier task to go to Coblenz than to threaten, than to remain in Paris to assist the King, or to commence in the provinces a civil war the chances of which would

\* The reader must here note the sight of the peculiar situation in which Count Lavallée was placed, as a devoted friend of the Emperor and a personal enemy of Louis XVIII. A very different account of the fall of M. de Favras may be found in Bertrand de Molleville, *Histoire de la Révolution*, vol. ii. page 341. (*Note of the Translator.*)

■ that time have been doubtful, especially when waged by men who ■■■■■ unable to ■■■ off their luxurious habits, and who, unknown to themselves, carried in their breasts some of the seeds of the revolution, that is to say, want of discipline and subordination, discontent ■■■■■ for innovation. The Royal Family remained, therefore, surrounded by a few hundred noblemen, whom duty, ■ the most noble and courageous fidelity, still retained in France ; but this fidelity ■■■■■ accompanied with ■ much hatred of the patriots, and ■ much foolish presumption, that it proved more dangerous than useful to their master. They ■■■■■ jealous of the National Guards who did duty in the palace ; their everlasting derision and threats disgusted all the citizens honestly ■■■■■ the King. As soldiers, the National Guard undoubtedly ■■■■■ not undeserving of ■■■■■ little ridicule ; but ought they to have been thus irritated whilst they were giving such disinterested proofs of fidelity, and when they might have been so extremely useful ? The com-

mander-in-chief of the Guards was more particularly the object of their bitter satires. This soured [REDACTED] temper, and I observed with regret, that many honest [REDACTED] who would have laid down their lives for the King, took the fatal resolution of abandoning him. I must say, however, that the Royal Family [REDACTED] far from approving the conduct of their pretended friends. The King and Queen always showed the greatest affability to the National Guards; but their example [REDACTED] not followed, nor [REDACTED] even their remonstrances listened to. I may quote one instance, of which the consequences [REDACTED] fatal. The Duke of Orleans had for some time [REDACTED] that he stood in an equivocal light, and that his position at Court [REDACTED] unworthy of his [REDACTED] and character. [REDACTED] wished to [REDACTED] a [REDACTED] ciliation with the King and Queen. A [REDACTED] gociation, prudently managed, succeeded [REDACTED] pletely. It was agreed that the first Prince of the blood should [REDACTED] publicly to pay [REDACTED] respects,—I think it [REDACTED] on Easter Sunday. The apartments [REDACTED] crowded. The Prince appear-

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ed ■ the moment dinner was being served up ■ the Royal Family. Immediately ■ silly young ■ thinking themselves very clever, cried out—"Take ■ of the dishes! Here comes the Duke of Orleans!" Another imagined he ■ doing some wonderful achievement in brushing by the Prince, and saying insolently—"That ■ ■ kick." The Prince, seeing himself thus insulted in the King's presence, left the palace abruptly, convinced that the Queen had drawn him into ■ odious snare. From that moment he joined the most violent of the factions, and the ■ and shameful consequences of that step are but too well known.

## CHAPTER IV.

Departure of Louis XVI. for Varennes and return.—The Legislative Assembly.—Beginning of the war.—Riot of the 14th of June.—False hopes of the Royalists.—Attempts of Lafayette in favour of the King.—Failure of those attempts, and flight of Lafayette.

THE members of the Constituent Assembly were still chiefly occupied in preparing an ill-combined constitution ; by it, however, they laid the foundation of the Representative System, which cost much dear, but by which alone France can be saved. All the powers of the state became vested in that Assembly, from the time when the King was unable to wield them. Public Opinion, a jealous and capricious sovereign, commenced her stormy reign : Louis, whom they were driving from the throne, — that her strength no longer reigned, imagined that

should [REDACTED] his sceptre and his crown, where his brother, and the small troop of emigrants that surrounded him, were under foreign [REDACTED] trol assuming a threatening attitude. As he could [REDACTED] hope to [REDACTED] any Frenchman [REDACTED] would [REDACTED] flight, the King confided his de-sign to a foreigner, the Swedish Ambassador. The plan was executed with an alli[REDACTED] and a zeal deserving of better success than it obtain-ed. The 21st of June, at eight o'clock in the morning, the city learned with the greatest astonishment that the whole Royal Family had disappeared; but the [REDACTED] feeling of surprise [REDACTED] immediately succeeded by [REDACTED] indifference so general, and by so decided a resolution to dispense with the King and with the royal authority of king, that the grand question of a republic seemed decided. However some per-sons, ashamed of having been deceived, wish-[REDACTED] to stop the fugitives: the particulars [REDACTED] the King's [REDACTED] Varennes are well known. The postmaster Drouet, with whom I became acquainted a long time afterwards, [REDACTED]

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■ ■ ■ the King might have passed without hindrance, if he had mounted on horseback ■ ■ ■ he ■ ■ stopped. Drouet ■ ■ ■ then too agitated to have acted in such a ■ ■ ■ with decision. Besides, the escort ■ ■ ■ more than sufficient ■ ■ overawe the few persons whom curiosity had drawn round the ■ ■ ■ riage ; and ■ ■ ■ when the tocain had collected ■ ■ greater number, a few firm words from the King would have dispersed them or checked them ; but the King would not, or rather dared not speak. How severely would history have judged this Prince, had he been less unfortunate !

His return to Paris was ■ ■ the ■ ■ ■ time a most dismal and most imposing ■ ■ ■ An immense population crowded around him ■ ■ he passed ; ■ hundred thousand armed ■ ■ lined the road and the Champs Elysées, to the Tuilleries ; ■ ■ feeling of delicacy, as well ■ ■ pride, dictated to this multitude the deepest silence. A man deprived of the faculty of hearing might have fancied he ■ ■ ■ the triumphant entrance of

■ conqueror, whilst, in truth, the solemn ■■■■■ was only an escort of prisoners. This was the second time they passed in agony the square embellished with the statue of Louis XV.; they were destined to visit it ■■■■■ more, and there ■■■■■ by the hands of the executioner. The sight of that family ■■■■■ heart-rending. Their incomprehensible fate excited horror in some, whilst the timid recoiled from them as from beings bearing a mark of inevitable doom, and whose approach brought with it the contagion of misfortune.

The National Assembly adopted the only reasonable course left to that body, namely, to suspend the royal functions. Louis, ■■■■■ the contrary, chose the worst possible course,—that of wishing ■■■■■ remain ■■■■■ king, after his flight had proved his resolution not to execute sincerely the ■■■■■ laws, and his antipathy for all that had taken place since the Revolution. His forced return, and all the circumstances with which it was accompanied, had degraded the majesty of the throne, and dissipated those illusions, with-

out which royalty ■■■■■ exist in France. A short time afterwards, the constitution was completed and presented to him for acceptance. ■■■ signed it, and here begins that long series of ■■■ with which he was reproached in his trial. All things ■■■ difficult to a weak mind. A thousand dangers presented themselves ■■■ the King's imagination, and it must be owned that he was still more unfortunate in the people that surrounded him, than in his own disposition. A crowd of ambitious men besieged the gates of his palace. The King, who himself had ■■■ faith in the constitution, chose ministers who wished to make it ■■■ their private ends, ■■■ who sometimes indeed struggled with the public folly, but ■■■ frequently ■■■ ressed it. At first the King ■■■ suffered ■■■ try quietly enough the scanty prerogatives of ■■■ constitutional royalty. ■■■ was allowed ■■■ form ■■■ guard for the protection of ■■■ person, but ■■■ entrusted the command of ■■■ friends of ■■■ own, who ■■■ enemies of ■■■ Revolution. The law completed ■■■ guard with non-com-

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misioned officers and privates influenced by the revolutionary spirit, and a few sons of citizens admitted into it a proof of the King's sincerity. The division between these different elements surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the Republicans, besides which the King took pains to attach his new guards to his person: attentions, kind words, and all that amiability of [redacted] by which [redacted] won, had been since Henry IV. unknown to his posterity; a contemptuous etiquette scorned the use of such [redacted] and regarded them as vulgar intrigue. The consequence was, that the Assembly, under I know not what pretence, disbanded [redacted] troop, which already amounted to fifteen hundred men. Two obscure municipal [redacted] came to the Palace of the Tuilleries, induced the Guard to follow them to the military school, where they peaceably laid down their arms; the next morning not a trace of them was remaining. By a chain of those extraordinary circumstances which belong to the history of our age, there arose from the ranks of these obscure soldiers,

who thus passed under the most ignominious yoke, ■ Marshal of France (Bessieres), ■ man equally distinguished by his gallantry and by ■ faithful devotion to his master, when ■ knowledged ■ king by ■ the sovereigns of Europe. The life of Bessieres ■ distinguished by brilliant feats of valour, and would have occupied many bright pages in history, had he not in his latter days disgraced his ■ of glory by odious ingratitude towards his benefactor.

The Constituent Assembly, fatigued by long struggles, had resolved, as much perhaps out of disinterestedness ■ discouragement, ■ abandon the field of battle. It ■ succeeded by the Legislative Assembly, who found itself surrounded by hatred of royalty among the people, hatred of the constitution on the part of the King, discouragement in the hearts of all honest men, and a faction full of energy in favour of ■ republic. The Assembly divided under two banners. The most ■ party, and, what ■ more singular, the most talented

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one, — to work — the destruction of the monarchy, with — ardour and — blindness — inexplicable, that the members of that party, who still survive, have — been able to assign any reasonable motives to justify so much fury. The Legislative Assembly, — opening, received the King in a very indecorous manner, and the Book of the Constitution with — ridiculous solemnity. It is sufficient to point out to — people the road to ruin and degradation, and they will stride in it with giant's steps. In the present circumstance they did not mistake the mark. They began by loading the King with obloquy, and then they ridiculed the constitution itself. But the King was a defenceless victim held in reserve, whom they were — of finding whenever they might — disposed to sacrifice him. First of all, it was necessary to overthrow the fundamental laws. The constitution — therefore attacked in — essence,—in the Ministers and the King — were — put — in execution and protect it. During the last three years, — boundless pro-

fusion of laws had been enacted,—a circumstance which deprived them of solemnity, their necessary appendage. It consequently not very difficult to bring them into temptation. After them nothing remained but the sovereign, despoiled and insulted, a true *Ecce homo*, who had borne the greatest outrages, and not resolution to look in the face a people, whose first and constant idol had always been courage. They to overthrow that King, and never design wrought with more open audacity. The numerous insults, their regular progress, their variety until the terrible day of the fall,—all was calculated with a coolness and depth of combination, of which there is no other example in history. If the hour of destruction were protracted, merit is due to the exertions of the Court. The abettors of the Revolution wanted to dispose all things according to their plan, and of their chief points was to degrade their victim before they slaughtered him.

However, the sovereigns of Europe now

began to imagine that they ought not to remain idle spectators of ■■■ contentions. The French revolution had not alarmed them, for they hoped that our troubles would weaken ■■■ The power of ■■■ brilliant nation had made others pay dearly for our glory ; and ■■■ civilization, which they ■■■ forced to admit amongst themselves, wounded their pride. But when, ■■■ last, they ■■■ that the great question of social organization assailed their thrones, they resolved to stop the torrent that threatened them. Two of the sovereigns had ■■■ conference together, and with the Elector of Saxony ■■■ Pilnitz, who, although too wise to approve of their plans, ■■■ still, ■■■ a monarch, too weak to reject them. Thus, in conjunction with an emperor of Austria and a ■■■■■ of Frederick the Great, ■■■ French prince ■■■ planning the dismemberment of France, without uttering ■■■ word in the defence of his country. The news ■■■ this act, so like the partition of Poland, ■■■ on Paris like a thunderbolt. The great question of ■■■■■ in the Legislative

Assembly. The debates that took place there, had less influence on public opinion than those of the Jacobin Club, where Robespierre began to rule. This man voted against the man. Was it a forewarning that military glory would one day be fatal to him? Did he fear that the French would be beaten?—that foreigners would overthrow the Republic he wanted to raise up, and punish him for the crimes he was about to commit? However, in spite of his faction, he resolved on. It was undoubtedly the wisest measure; for the enemy was resolved to begin, and France, ill prepared, would have lost all the advantages of the attack. The King gave the command of the army to generals who had taken part in the Revolution, such as Meassrs. Lafayette, Luckner, Montesquiou, Biron, De Broglie, Custinea, Kellerman, Beau-harnais, &c.

The Jacobins, who already possessed a formidable power, had by far outrun the patriots of 1789. Their cherished government was the Republic, whilst the latter remained



true to the constitutional Monarchy. The ■■■ action of the ■■■■■ disgraceful. Our troops attempted an attack on the enemy ■■ Mons, but ■■■■■ repulsed in such confusion, that if the uprightness of ■■■■■ generals had not been ■■ well known, the affair might have seemed concerted either with the Court ■■ with the Jacobins. M. de Dillon, one of the commanders, was ■■ his return assassinated by his soldiers, exasperated at the disgrace they had suffered. But in Paris the Jacobins threw all the blame on the King, and persuaded the people that it ■■■ impossible for the troops to gain a victory when commanded by generals appointed by him. In fact, the monarch, having no ■■■ power, was unable to transmit energy and discipline to the army. The generals themselves, placed in a most false position, and foreseeing political changes, ■■ longer knew for whom they fought. The soil of France ■■■■■ undoubt-edly to be protected; but it was necessary to know in favour of what government. All the generals were noblemen; they had wished for

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freedom, but with a monarchy ; and the principles of the Jacobins could not be very pleasing to them. The latter resolved to put an end to all uncertainty, by hastening the fall of the throne and the establishment of a republic.

I have already described how the National Guards, who — the King's real defenders, had been discouraged by the Court; they — afterwards intimidated by the faction of the Jacobins. The destruction of the throne, and the establishment of ■ republic, determined and proclaimed by furious men, whom torrents of blood — incapable of withholding, spread dismay among the respectable citizens of the metropolis. Had they been gifted with but a small portion of energy, had unity reigned among them, and had they themselves known how ■■■■■ they were, the throne would have been preserved. But could obscure citizens be required to show that foresight in which men of the highest rank ■■■■■ been wanting? Could they be expected to ■■■■■ for a sovereign who did ■■■■■ choose to defend him-

self? They in consequence kept aloof, ■■■ the disaffected, delivered of that obstacle, had only the regiment of Swiss Guards to conquer. The King had preferred being protected by them, because he thought it easier to pay foreign troops than to gain the good-will of the French. The Jacobins found but little difficulty in exciting the people against the Swiss; and, thanks to their speeches ■■■ writings, the fury of the citizens equalled that of Spanish bulls at the sight of a red flag. "Why," said they, "do Swiss peasants act ■■■ guards to the King of the French? Why do those men, so foreign to our customs, ■■■ manners, and ■■■ language, place themselves between the people and their constitutional King? Are there ■■■ French soldiers? The National Guards have lost the confidence of the Court, who seek the protection of foreigners, and ■ time will ■■■ when foreigners will triumph ■■■ them. The Royal Family, the generals, the foreign powers, ■■■ bound by ■■■ compact, the execution of which grows

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every day more visible. There is treason every where, and if adequate [redacted] not soon taken, all France, but particularly Paris, will be delivered up to fire and sword. Not a [redacted] moment must be lost."

Sedition of this sort was circulated in a thousand pamphlets, and repeated in all the assemblies of the mob with that vulgar energy so powerful was them. It afforded increased excitement to minds in which all ideas of order or submission were long since obliterated. The Jacobins began their operations; but they wished to begin by a trial, in the hope of gaining amidst the fury of a new riot what might perhaps not succeed in a regular attack. On the 20th of June, the whole faubourgs set themselves in motion, and went down to the Palace of the Tuilleries, under the pretence of claiming from the King his assent to several decrees he had rejected. General Lafayette was no longer in Paris; the heads of the divisions commanded by turns the National Guards; but none of them had any influence.

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The orders that — given to the citizens to assemble at the palace were not executed, and the Royal Family had only to depend — its influence and that of the courtiers who did not show themselves. The rebels entered the palace, broke open the doors, and advanced to the apartments of the King, who came to meet them with noble spirit. The sight of the monarch, and the calmness of his manner, disconcerted those who marched foremost, and who — probably the most desperate of the gang. That first moment saved the King and his family. The shouts and imprecations of the mob that followed were without effect. The opportunity — lost for slaughter, and the rebels attempted in vain to regain their advantage. A sort of strange dialogue took place between the King and the leaders of the mob. The vanity of the latter was flattered, but the monarch could not avoid the humiliation of putting — the red cap. The roof rang with horrible cries and frightful abuse. The Queen, in particular, — the object of — terrible

threats, and she was present all the while. This time the King's condescension ■■■■■ not an act of weakness. His fate must be deplored, and the barbarous insult of the red cap must be considered in the ■■■■■ light ■■ the ■■■■■ of thorns placed ■■ the head of the Christian lawgiver.\* That despicable triumph satisfied the Jacobins. They let the mob depart, firmly resolved, however, to take ■■■■■ decided ■■■■■.

The 20th of June was a signal victory for the rebels; but did it cause the Court and the Royalists, who prided themselves in being ■■ courageous and powerful, to open their eyes? If the King still entertained hopes, they could only be founded ■■ the enemies of France. A pitiful resource! Ought he not to have felt that their triumph would be ■■ sentence of death for him? When a great body of men, led by bold and able chiefs, have once placed outrage and violence between themselves and

\* ■■ Legislateur du Chrétien. The translator begs his reader's pardon ■■ M. Lavallatte's impiety.

reconciliation, their success ■■■ only be ensured by crimes. One step alone, and the noblest, remained ■■■ be taken by the King ;—that was, abdication : he should have laid down all the ensigns of royalty, have left the Tuilleries in broad daylight, on foot, surrounded by his family, and, after having disbanded his guards, put his life in the hands of the magistrates. That would have been a bold act ; but the King had no comprehension of such a step.

I know that it is easy to reason on events after they are passed ; but in this case the monarch's conduct was traced out by circumstances. He had ■■■ more hope left ;—no more friends whose devotion amounted to the sacrifice of their lives ;—no ■■■ power, for his enemies turned it against him. When disgraced ■■■ the throne, it ■■■ high time to become a private citizen. Such ■■■ noble step would have struck ■■■ in the minds of every ■■■ In the eyes of the people, he had been till then ■■■ every-day king ; but that king, divesting himself of ■■■ purple robes, stepping

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down from ■■■ throne, and saying to the nation, "I have governed you during eighteen years with moderation; you deprive me of the necessary power to hold the reins of the state; you wish for a republic; establish one; I submit to your will. In giving up the throne, I only ■■■ for the lives of my wife and children. As for myself, I remain in your hands. You may subject me to insult and bodily suffering; but my soul belongs to God,—you can neither enfeeble nor debase it." I ■■■ much mistaken if such words addressed to the French people would not have deeply touched and perhaps reclaimed them. Instead of that, the unfortunate monarch wished to retain a sceptre already broken in his hands:—the result is but too well known.

Among the persons whom I met in society, my attachment to the royal ■■■■■ particularly attracted the attention of the Marquis de Verdier. ■■■■■ old man, of an ardent and chivalrous mind. His long services in India had raised him to the rank of a major-general.

He was not rich, and at the age of sixty-five he came to court dangers in defence of his King, with as much spirit as he formerly had sought them in battle for the sake of glory. That amiable old gentleman had conceived a particular friendship for me. I used to see him every day, especially in the interval between the 20th of June and the 10th of August. It was through him that I was enabled to form some idea of all the childish delusions with which the poor defenders of the King fed their fantastic hopes. They had suffered during three years all the insults of their enemies, and instead of fixing their eyes on the inevitable future, they triumphed when perchance a biting pamphlet, well seasoned with witty sarcasms, was published with — I frequently left the Marquis in the evening, hopeless and dejected, and the next morning he appeared full of the most extravagant hopes. Letters had been received from Coblenz, announcing the advance of three formidable armies, or one of the provinces had

risen up in arms, — some secret plot — to burst like thunder and level the Jacobins with the dust. Even after the 20th of June he still dreamed of the most decided — — — — immense party — forming among the National Guards, under the protection of the Ministry, and the federation of the 14th of July — to give the signal of the King's triumph — his enemies. The long wished-for day — at last, and brought with it only fresh insults to the unfortunate monarch.

The inhabitants of Paris were — that time infatuated with — deputy of the Legislative Assembly, called Petion. He — a member for — of the departments of the late province of Picardy. I have in vain consulted my memory to discover in what — — — he became mayor of Paris. The publications of the time have recorded of him not — action, not — speech, capable of explaining — celebrity. It — however probable that his party found him possessed of some talent, — they would not have conferred — him the highest magis-

tracy of the metropolis, — a period when that office gave — much influence — the Assembly to the — who enjoyed it. Petion — in the meridian of life ; he — a man of tall stature and dignified appearance ; his manners — polite, and his character bold, which latter quality was, I suppose, the circumstance that determined the choice of his party. Perhaps however that boldness — nothing more than ambition in a shallow mind ; for nothing resembles courage more than ignorance of danger. Petion — then the idol of the people. He succeeded M. Bailly, who, a little while beforehand, had exercised the greatest rigour of the law against the rebels who assembled in the Champ de Mars to proclaim the Republic. On their refusal to disperse, he hoisted the red flag as a signal that martial law was to be executed, and gave orders to — upon them. A mayor who, — the contrary, caressed the caprice of the mob, and who had devoted himself entirely to the republicans, could not — to excite considerable enthusiasm. On the

14th of July, Petion appeared ■ the head of all the most vulgar and turbulent part of the populace of Paris. Above ■ hundred thousand men ■■■ their hats, ■ *large characters*, the inscription : *Petion or death.* This ■ the watch-word of the day, and appeared like ■ fundamental maxim of the horrible anarchy that ■■■ about to exercise its fury.

The King ■■■ dragged to the ceremony with his family. There he heard once more, and not for the last time, expressions of hatred and rage. He took his station in the same palace, and at the ■■■ window, where two years before the better portion of the nation had ■■■ bled in his presence, to render him the homage of veneration and gratitude, which was then sincere. Undoubtedly at that time the illusion which ■ faithful people had impressed on the King's mind ■■■ removed, and this ■■■ and gloomy representation must have appeared to him ■ the consequence of the first, but how different in the eyes of those who observed with attention the succession of events! —

In 1790, ■ great people, inflamed by liberty, powerful by the consciousness of their strength and their rights, demanded sincerely ■ monarchy founded ■ law: the most affectionate concord seemed to reign between the people and the sovereign. The storms of July and October 1789, the agitations which had taken place in ■ of the provinces, had grieved all honest men, who detested them from the bottom of their hearts: love for the monarch, and an abhorrence of anarchy, seemed ■ sacred pledge that France would be no ■ troubled by it. In the month of July 1792, ■ the contrary, that nation, so generous, so united, had in a manner disappeared before a horde of barbarians. Feelings of hatred and revenge had succeeded nobler sentiments. The ■ narch, but lately ■ beloved by the country, and his family, her most cherished hope, were disgraced by cruel insults, and dragged to the public squares like as to the place of execution. At the ceremony of the Federation, the King was forced to pass between two files of ruffians

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uttering insult and threats of rage, on his way  
■ the Champ de ■ to swear ■ more  
that he would maintain ■ Constitution he had  
signed in spite of himself, and that had already  
disappeared under the rebels' feet.

M. de Lafayette, having received the account of the criminal attempt of the [redacted] of June, wanted to lead his army to Paris to protect the King against the Republicans; but he [redacted] discovered that all feeling of love, and even of interest for the fate of the monarch, [redacted] extinguished in the hearts of his soldiers. A King seemed [redacted] to be a thing superfluous, [redacted] out of place, in the constitution. The army was in the enemy's presence; its chief desire was [redacted] wash off the disgrace of its first defeats, and to lay by victory the foundation of national independence. M. de Lafayette had the noble courage to attempt alone what he could not obtain of [redacted] army. He [redacted] to Paris, appeared [redacted] the bar of the Assembly, complained with energy of the insults the King had suffered, of the acknowledged plan of de-

stroying the Constitution, and of the anarchy with which France was threatened. This noble step, although supported by the minority of the Assembly, did not succeed, and Lafayette ■■■■■ the point of being impeached. From thence he went to the Palace of the Tuilleries, where he ■■■■■ received with coolness. Instead of appearing grateful for this act of fidelity, the prejudices of the Royal Family ■■■■■ so strong, that it is said the Queen declared she would prefer dying to being served by such ■■■■■ enemy. The general left Paris, sorely grieved for the fate of his King and country. He ■■■■■ soon followed by the emissaries of the municipality; and a few days after his return to the camp, he ■■■■■ obliged to fly to a foreign country for refuge; but, instead of finding ■■■■■ refuge, he was, in violation of ■■■■■ the laws of nations, made ■■■■■ prisoner in the dungeons of Austria.

## CHAPTER V.

Preparations for the 10th of August.—My Company repairs to [REDACTED] Tuilleries.—The King retires [REDACTED] the Assembly.—Attack of the Palace.—Dissolution of the Legislative Assembly.—The Girondines.

THE enterprise of M. de Lafayette, notwithstanding its ill success, made the Jacobins [REDACTED] sible that they had not a moment to lose for the accomplishment of their plans. The Court [REDACTED] upon its guard: it [REDACTED] longer possible to attempt assassination; an attack by open force [REDACTED] in consequence resolved and fixed [REDACTED] for the 4th of August. But whether the [REDACTED] spirators were not yet ready, [REDACTED] whether that day had only been named to deceive the Court, the attack did not take place then. M. de Verdiere passed [REDACTED] day [REDACTED] the Palace, and [REDACTED] returning in the evening he used [REDACTED] make me

share his fears without being able to inspire ■■■ with his hopes. He told ■■■ that emissaries were dispersed through ■■■ the suburbs, and ■■■ in the club of the Jacobins itself ; that all their designs ■■■ known ; that the National Guards were commanded by M. Mandar, a late officer of the Gardes Françaises ; that ■■■ the first order he might give, twenty thousand citizens would rise in arms ; that ■■■ the loyal nobility and citizens of Paris would go to the Palace ; that the King would mount his horse ; and that the day intended for his ruin would be his triumph. I did all I could to convince him that the National Guards would not march ; that they had lost all confidence in their own power ; that they ■■■ divided in their opinions, and, above all, discouraged ; in ■■■ word, that they ■■■ afraid of the Jacobins. I observed, that M. Mandar ■■■ scarcely known, and inspired ■■■ confidence ; that three ■■■ four battalions of gallant men would be insufficient to repulse the aggressors, who ■■■ the whole populace of Paris ; ■■■ the Swiss Guards were

objects of horror, [ ] would be overpowered by [ ] irritated people; that it would therefore [ ] wiser to make [ ] of the protection of these troops, for the purpose of leaving Paris, and retiring towards Normandy, where [ ] numerous body of cavalry might join the Court. I insisted chiefly [ ] the necessity of leaving the Tuileries in the night. The Swiss being masters of the post [ ] the turning bridge that communicated with the Place Louis XV. the first hours of the retreat would pass off tranquilly. But it was impossible to make Verdière listen to reason. He continually referred to the marks of courage and loyalty exhibited in petitions signed by two hundred and twenty thousand citizens, who every day, and [ ] every occasion, openly declared their love for their King and their implacable hatred of the rebels. "These are only signs manual," I said; "the citizens will fly on the firing of the [ ] You do not know what it [ ] [ ] [ ] lament and children cry. The good people will retire [ ] their beds and weep."

I was unable to convince him, and he ■■■ faithful echo of all those who surrounded the Royal Family. However, this noble old man behaved very gallantly ; he escaped by a miracle the ■■■■■ at the Palace, went to Coblenz, ■■■ having returned to Paris a short time afterwards, he perished on the ■■■■■.

The 10th of August was at last decidedly fixed upon by the conspirators. The battalion of St. Antoine, in which I served, ■■■ not decided to take any share in the day, although it ■■■ commanded by a staunch royalist ; but my company of chasseurs ■■■ under the orders of a young architect named Bleve, a ■■■ of determined spirit, and one in whom we placed entire confidence. He sent us word ■■ two o'clock in the morning. The greatest part of the company joined him, and ■■ four we ■■■ for the Tuileries. A dismal sight presented itself ■■■ in the way. Numerous groupes of common people, armed with sabres, pikes, and pistols, crossed the Rue St. Antoine, going towards ■■■ suburb, and casting threatening looks,

as if they were surprised to see us march another way. Some of them abused us, others called their neighbours. The women were at the windows, and in the streets, embracing with tears their husbands and sons. The gloomy energy of these men was depicted in their countenances and motions. As we advanced, the deepest silence reigned on the quays; daylight seemed to recoil before the sacrilegious spectacle of a city abandoned to all the horrors of civil war and crime.

We arrived in the court of the Tuileries a little before five o'clock. At that time the palace had not the imposing aspect which now renders it one of the most noble royal residences. The large court, separated in all its length from the square by an iron railing, was divided in three parts, each encumbered by houses and walls. Instead of the railing there were old decayed buildings, occupied by tradespeople, and a grand entrance closed with a folding door. A short while after we had arrived in the middle court, a company of artillery of the

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sections of the Blancs Monteaux entered with two field pieces, crying *Vive le Roi!* The battalions of the Petits Pires and the Filles St. Thomas had preceded us, and were drawn up in line of battle in the court. We were joined together, interchanging the most touching tokens of friendship for each other, attachment to the King, and hatred of the rebels.

At five o'clock we learned that the King was going to review us. He appeared, accompanied by a few officers of his household and about twenty persons in plain dresses, armed with pistols and muskets. His cold tranquillity and apathy under such terrible circumstances produced a painful impression. He addressed to us, as he was passing by, a few words which did not hear, and returned to the palace. This made a dismal impression upon us, but it was quickly dissipated when the grenadiers of the battalion of the [redacted] St. Thomas proposed to [redacted] sign a proclamation in favour of the King, written by one of their officers. We went into [redacted] on the ground-floor, which

had since served as antechamber for the home department of the council of [REDACTED]. The gallant author of the proclamation had been wounded a few days before by the Marseillais in the Champs Elysées, and had been carried to the Tuilleries in a handbarrow. We had the pleasure of embracing him. I suspect he must have perished a few hours afterwards, and I am sorry I do not recollect his [REDACTED].

The emissaries we sent to the Faubourg St. Antoine came every hour and then to tell us that the enemy was setting out and would arrive. We were fully determined to repulse him. Nevertheless our unbounded devotedness to the royal cause could alone make us blind to the smallness of our numbers and our desperate situation. I affirm that there were no more than three hundred men in the chief court, and none at all either in the Pavilion de Flore or in the Pavilion Marsan. The [REDACTED] occupied all the apartments of the palace, and, to crown the whole, the general in chief of our well-disposed army was M. de

Wittinghoff, — old man above sixty, who spoke barbarous French, knew nothing either of France — Paris, — rather lame, and — tainly had not the least idea of the enemies he — to oppose or the position he had to defend. In fact, if the Jacobins themselves had arranged the order of our defence, and chosen — general, they could not have done better for their own interest.

On the approach of the enemy, the King resolved to seek refuge in the Legislative Assembly. A grenadier of the National Guards informed — that he had carried the Prince Royal in his — on the terrace of the Feuillons, and described all the insults the Royal Family had endured from the populace, who already filled that part of the garden. A little while afterwards, M. Roederer, syndic or president of the directory of the department of the Seine, came to us, — desired us, — in the name of the law, not to attack, but to repel force by force. This was, no doubt, very prudent — his part; but what were — to defend? Was it — palace

and its furniture? or did not the King, by leaving his residence and going to the Assembly, seem to declare that he surrendered himself up to that assembly which was now the sovereign authority, and whence were to receive his orders? The King's retreat, and the speech of M. Roederer, spread discouragement and confusion among the National Guards; the cannoneers of the battalion of Blancs Monteaux threw down their matches, stamped upon them, and said there was nothing more to be done, there being no king to defend.

During this scene, I was on duty at the gate of the court, facing a Swiss, an absolute machine, with whom it was impossible to exchange a word. But an aid-de-camp of General Wittighoff passing near me, I asked him what his general intended doing. He shrugged up his shoulders and said, "I do not think he knows himself; but I believe we are in an awkward situation. We have to fight the Marquis; I know the people of Provence; and if the plan fails, we are lost."—He had scarcely

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spoken, when howlings gave ■■ notice of the enemy's approach, and the doors soon gave way to the repeated blows of the thick beams with which they struck them. All the guards that ■■ in the court dispersed, and I followed gravely my Swiss companion, who, according to the orders he had received, returned ■■ a slow pace to the palace, and we entered together the saloon of the guards.

The Swiss were ranged on the two sides of the great staircase, and in all the apartments facing the windows, three in depth. The offi-■■■■■ trying to stimulate them, but their faltering voices betrayed their consternation. I had expected to find National Guards in the palace. Surprised to see nothing but foreigners, I ■■■■■ uncertain as to the ■■■■■ I should act, when a Swiss officer, taking ■■ by the arm, begged ■■ to accompany him to the garden, where his company was stationed. My regi-mentals ■■■■■ sort of protection. We went down together to the ■■ landing-place, facing the door that leads ■■ the old chamber of the

council of state. There ■■■ found the great staircase barred by ■ beam, and defended by several Swiss officers, who were politely disputing the way with about fifty men, whose dress made them look like robbers in a melodrama. They ■■■■■ intoxicated, and their coarse accent betrayed their origin : they came from Marseilles. The officer repeatedly told them that the Royal Family ■■■■■ gone to the Assembly, that there ■■■■■ nobody in the palace, and that the Swiss ■■■■■ received a positive order to defend its entrance. But ■■■■■ of no avail with them. "We will enter! ■■■■■ will examine all the apartments!" ■■■■■ their only answer, mingled with cries of "Vive la Nation!" The soldiers, by command of the officers, ■■■ turned in bad French the ■■■■■ cries, and raised their hats on their bayonets. At last the conspirators succeeded. The barrier gave way ■■■ their efforts; they forced their passage, ■■■■■ seized the opportunity to go down. We were still in the vestibule, when ■ well-directed ■■■ began from ■■■■■ apartments, and al-

most ■■ the same ■■■■■ the cannon ■■■■■ heard. I ■■■■■ convinced that the Swiss fired first; my memory has ■■■■■ for ■ moment deceived me in respect to that circumstance. It is, however, useless to discuss the point; for it is certain that the conspirators ■■■■■ with a view to attack the King: if the Swiss began to fire, it must have been because the Court had hopes of gaining the victory. But in that case the Swiss ought to have gone down, ■■ rather to have marched against the enemy, and have attacked him in the streets before he had time to draw up his ranks in the square. It seems that the plan ■■■■■ to attack the enemy's flank, as ■■■■■ Swiss, posted in the court of Marsan, made a sortie, and even took two field-pieces; but they ■■■■■ repulsed. The first discharges from the palace had ■■■■■ ■■■■■ wounded a great many, and the principal court ■■■■■ been quickly evacuated: but the cannonade brought disorder and consternation into ■■■■■ ranks of the Swiss. They abandoned the windows; the enemy advanced with renewed courage, crossed ■■■■■ court,

and rushed into the apartments. The unfortunate Swiss were unable to defend themselves any longer. The most horrible massacre began, and terminated only when the last of them fell. They were pursued from chamber to chamber ; the most obscure corner, the most solitary cabinets, even the chimneys into which some had crept, could not save them. They were thrown out of the windows, and their bodies were stript and exposed to the barbarous derision of women of the lowest class, — those of the murdered Protestants after St. Bartholomew were subjected to the indecent railleries of the ladies of the Court.

Two hours sufficed to exterminate twelve hundred warlike and well-disciplined soldiers commanded by brave and devoted officers. Three or four hundred noblemen stationed in the apartments that join the Pavilion de Flore, and who were undoubtedly designed to attack the enemy's left flank, had the good luck to escape through the gallery of the Louvre. They had been hoping for a triumph in the result of the battle.

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Alsatian named Westermann, who acquired ■ great name in the ■■■ of the Vendée afterwards, and Ragowski, ■ Polish refugee, a well-informed ■■■ and tutor to the son of ■■■ of the first noblemen of France. Forced to leave ■■■ country, after having fought for ■■■ liberty, he had carried to his new home ■■■ the hatred he entertained for the treachery of his ■■■ reign. Louis XVI. appeared to him ■■■ guilty ■■■ Poniatowski, and he seemed ■■■ the 10th of August inspired with a wish to avenge the indifference which the cabinet of Versailles had shown to Poland at the time of her first misfortunes. ■■■ killed at the head of the column he commanded.

Cannon balls ■■■ on ■■■ sides in the garden of the Tuileries. I sought refuge in the Legislative Body. What a scene ■■■ I witness there! The King and ■■■ family were crowded into ■ reporter's box ■■■ the President. The King remained motionless, and affected the air of ■■■ indifferent spectator; the Queen softly pressed her children ■■■ her bosom, and ■■■

from time to time to wipe away her ■■■ with her handkerchief. In ■■■ hall some persons showed marks of fear, while others took pains to disguise their fury and their satisfaction ; all betrayed ■■■ agitation, an anxiety that did not allow them to remain in their places. The de-■■■ continued, however, with an appearance of order, ■■■ subjects foreign to the terrible tragedy that ■■■ acting. Victory ■■■ ■■■ last announced by the conquerors themselves bearing into the hall the spoil of the palace, and proclaiming the massacre of the vanquished amidst furious cries of " The Nation for ever ! Death to all traitors !" The King had been obliged, in the beginning of the contest, to sign an order forbidding the advance of the Swiss battalion ■■■ Courbevoie ; and it is a circum-■■■ worthy of remark, that the Court, being resolved to defend itself, did not call in that battalion during the night.

I ■■■ the melancholy ■■■ ■■■ went to ■■■ Marquis de Verdière. The unfortunate old man was not yet ■■■ home, but he soon arrived,

half dead with despair and fatigue. He had passed the night in the palace, and had escaped by a sort of miracle through one of the doors of the gallery of the Louvre. We embraced one another, and both of ■■■ shed tears. He ■■■ ■■■ last convinced that no hope remained, and I pressed him to leave the country ■■■ quickly as possible. He wanted to take me with him, but I told him I ■■■ going to join the defenders of my country. "Your cause is no more mine," I said; "I am not born ■■■ nobleman; I have paid my debt to my sovereign, and ■■■ my country claims me. I must defend her against foreigners who wish to divide her for their spoil, and ■■■ shall remain faithful ■■■ her." He had ■■■ more illusions to offer me; he yielded, and we separated ■■■ to meet again. I learned since, that after having made ■■■ pilgrimage ■■■ the royalist army, where he ■■■ badly received, because he ■■■ too late, ■■■ returned to Paris, was denounced ■■■ a returned emigrant, and died on the scaffold.

The day after the 10th of August, the ■■■

the Royal Family was ■ last decided. They had passed the night ■ ■ cells of the convent of the Feuillants, near the Hall of the Assembly. They stepped into a large coach, and were led in triumph to the tower of the Temple, along the Boulevard, and ■■■■■ the Place Vendôme, where the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. ■■■■■ already been thrown down. I wished to cast a last look on the unfortunate family before their imprisonment, and I forced my way into the mob while they ■■■■■ getting out of the coach. Among the number of persons that surrounded the carriage, I observed a horrible-looking man. Half his face ■■■■■ covered with a long and thick beard; he ■■■■■ dressed in a sort of smock frock, which soon after became the uniform of the Jacobins. Though his look was haggard and furious, he seemed embarrassed on observing the anxious curiosity of those that stood around him. I ■■■■■ who he was. "It's Jourdan of Avignon," ■■■■■ the ■■■■■ "Jourdan, Coupe-Tête." In fact, it must have been either the wretch who distin-

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guished himself by the massacres of the Glaciere d'Avignon, — some one resembling him, placed there with a view to augment the terror of the Royal family.

A few days after the 10th of August, the Legislative Assembly closed its session, and decreed that another Assembly should [ ] in [ ] stead. The members of the Gironde party, who [ ] contributed most to the [ ] of the Throne, hastened to get themselves re-elected.

Among the members of that party, some have so many surviving friends, that they ought ■ to be condemned rashly. Great praise ■ still ■■■■■ on the uprightness of their intentions, their rigid honesty, their eminent talents, and their invincible courage. I am far from disputing these two last qualities; but what ■■■■■ the situation of France when they entered the Legislative Assembly, and what did they ■■■■■ maintain the constitution which that assembly was appointed ■■■■■ protect? Had it ■■■■■ utterly impossible to support it? Was

King an invincible obstacle, — the repub-  
■■■■■ faction ■■■■■ enemy whose progress could  
no longer be stopped? Was not ■ courageous  
struggle in favour of constitutional monarchy  
■ sacred duty? Was ■■■■■ unanimous, firm, and  
heroic resistance preferable to the ■■■■■ pre-  
sumption of wishing ■■■■■ reign on the ruins of  
the throne and the constitution? I fear, his-  
tory will ■■■■■ the Gironde party of having  
been led away by the desire of shining ■■■■■  
tors; and it will probably be ■■■■■ that the  
greater part of them were more intent on keep-  
ing up ■ successful ■■■■■ with the heroes of  
the Constituent Assembly, than impelled by  
the noble ambition of saving their country by  
following a steady line of conduct.

The last twenty days of the month of August  
were not lost for the revolutionary party. They  
knew the maxim, that ■ a victorious general must  
not leave ■ moment's rest ■ his vanquished  
enemy. As soon as they had shut up the Royal  
Family in the Temple, and butchered all the  
Swiss soldiers that remained in ■■■■■ and ■■■■■

environs, they hastened to imprison all persons suspected of being attached to the King. Noblemen, clergymen, servants of the palace, men, and even children, who had the least connexion with the Court, were seized without any exception, and prisons were more than playhouses. A misfortune roused to the highest pitch the rage of the Jacobins, and filled the public with consternation : a foreign enemy obtained alarming whilst the ridiculous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick announced to the city of Paris the terrible punishment that threatened her. The frontier towns of Longwy and Verdun had surrendered; and, by a shameful and criminal policy, the sovereigns who came to assist the unfortunate Louis XVI. placed their banners on the conquered cities, a proof that they would restore them. The French nation, insulted in independence, united its exertions to the fury of the Jacobins, and France was saved amidst of blood.

## CHAPTER VI.

Approach of the enemy.—Taking of Verdun.—The 2nd and  
■ of September.—I leave Paris and enlist.—My hopes  
and disappointments.—Arrival of Colonel d' Hilliers.—He  
joins the army of the Rhine, whence he sends ■ a com-  
mission of Sub-Lieutenant.—Death of Louis XVI.

THE ■ of the surrender of Verdun, and  
the impossibility of stopping the advance of the  
enemy, reached Paris on the morning of the ■  
of September; and by five o'clock some mem-  
bers of the municipality began to ride about  
the streets ■ horseback with flags in their  
hands, and crying, "To arms!—The enemy,"  
they added, "approaches—you ■ all lost! ■  
city will be ■ prey to fire and pillage! Take  
up your swords, join ■ armies, ■ the infam-  
ous foreigners will ■ repulsed! You have

nothing to fear from [REDACTED] traitors and conspirators you leave behind; they [REDACTED] in the hands of [REDACTED] patriots, and national justice will strike them with [REDACTED] thunderbolts." These terrible words, repeated on [REDACTED] sides, spread general dismay. What [REDACTED] the meaning of the thunderbolt of justice? Alas! that expression [REDACTED] but too [REDACTED] explained: about two hours after, it [REDACTED] reported that the prisoners [REDACTED] to be executed! I ran to the hall of my section, where I found M. Dutillet. He took [REDACTED] aside, and said, "Within an hour the prisoners [REDACTED] the Hôtel de la Force will be butchered. I have an order from Tallien for the release of Madame de Tourzel and her daughter. Bleve, captain of the Chasseurs, accompanies [REDACTED] We want a third person: will you go with me?" I accepted [REDACTED] readily his proposal. It [REDACTED] agreed that Dutillet should enter [REDACTED] prison; that Bleve [REDACTED] he should take charge of [REDACTED] ladies; [REDACTED] that I should accompany them, for the twofold purpose of engaging the [REDACTED]tion of such as might stop them in a part of

the town where they were so well known, and to help to defend them in — they should — attacked. We encountered — difficulty in getting the ladies out of prison; — passed along the Rue du Roi de Siècle, and boldly crossed the church of the Petit St. Antoine, where — Assembly — held. By good luck, night — beginning to protect us; — — in no — disturbed, and Madame de Tourzel found in the Rue St. Antoine her friends, who placed her in safety. When we returned to Dutillet's, we — on the means of preventing the massacre of the prisoners of La Force. The consciousness of doing a good action augments one's courage. It was impossible — think of beating the generale without an order from the Commander-in-chief; time pressed, and, besides, the commander was Santerre, one of the leaders of the Jacobins. We had no alternative but to run to some of the — Guards whom — looked upon as — steady. I spoke to a great many — them in — space of an hour and a half, and,

notwithstanding my ■■■ pressing entreaties, I could make ■■■ impression on them. Men in the prime of life ■■■ health, in whom I thought I had discovered a strong love of liberty, feelings of humanity, and respect for the laws, remained unmoved, while I pictured to them the slaughter they ■■■ going ■■■ witness—"What can we do?" ■■■ the answer of all those I ■■■ I could not excite them to a noble effort. Some ■■■ not believe the massacre; others said they could not march without ■■■ order from their chiefs. Some even said to me—"The prisoners ■■■ conspirators who deserve no pity; our sons are going to the army; civil ■■■ will break out; ■■■ shall perish the victims of our humanity; it ■■■ said, besides, that there will be judges, and that the innocent will be spared." The exertions of my two companions ■■■ not crowned with more success than my own; we separated ■■■ nine o'clock. The ■■■ was already raging in all ■■■ force. Being ■■■ known than my friends, I ■■■ to the prison. Before the

wicket that leads to the Rue des Ballets, I found about fifty men — most. These were the butchers; the rest had been drawn there by curiosity, and — perhaps more execrable than the executioners; for though they — neither go away, nor take part in the horrid deed, — they applauded. I looked forward, and — sight of a heap of bodies still palpitating with life, I uttered a cry of horror. Two men turned round, and, taking me abruptly by the collar, dragged — violently to the street, where they reproached me with imprudence; and then running away, left — alone in the dark. The horrible spectacle I had witnessed deprived me of all courage: I went home, overwhelmed with shame and despair for humanity — execrably injured, and the French character so deplorably disgraced.

The particulars of the — having all been recorded in the memoirs of the time, I need not repeat them here. I — moreover — spectator of them. They — three days, and, I blush while I write it, — half a mile

from ■■■ different prisons, nobody would have imagined that their countrymen ■■■ ■■■ that moment butchered by hundreds. The shops were open, pleasure ■■■ going on in all ■■■ animation, and sloth rejoiced in its vacuity. All the vanities and seductions of luxury, voluptuousness, and dissipation, peaceably swayed ■■■ their sceptre. They feigned an ignorance of cruelties which they wanted the courage to oppose. And still there existed ■■■ Assembly, the organ and supreme protectress of the laws, ministers entrusted with the executive power, ■■■ paid guard and magistrates. The unfortunate prisoners that ■■■ slaughtered had friends and relations, on whom they could not bestow a last look. They perished, after horrible agony, in the midst of the most cruel torments. Twelve hundred persons ■■■ ■■■ in those three days.

Still, ■■■ much blood shed did not satisfy the rage of the September murderers! They were sensible that the slaughtering of twelve hundred persons would spread dismay and indignation ■■■ France ■■■ Europe. Victory was

therefore become doubly necessary. National pride and the bad policy of the enemy were of wonderful service to them. In less than a fortnight, more than sixty thousand men left Paris for the army. The youths of the departments, animated by the most generous patriotism, did not wait for the example of the metropolis, and in a short time the armies were augmented threefold. I did not dare to enlist in a battalion of volunteers, being noted as an enemy of the country,—that is to say, of the Jacobins. The most indulgent blamed me: they said I was hot-headed, heedless, and had thrown myself through vanity into a party I ought to have detested. I had signed all the petitions in favour of the Court; and had been in the palace on the 10th of August: that was more than sufficient for a sentence of death. Not knowing how to get away, I went and consulted one of my best friends, Bertrand, the same who since had himself so honourably known by his talent and devotion to the Emperor, and who is present

■ St. Helena. I had made his acquaintance ■ the office of the attorney, Dommanget, where he studied for the bar. ■ family had designed him ■ fill ■ judicial post in ■ provinces ; but since the suppression of the parliaments his studies ■ without aim. He acted more wisely than I had done. Instead of meddling in political quarrels, he applied himself during eighteen months in perfect retirement ■ the study of mathematics. Gifted with judgment and ■ tenacious character, he could not but succeed. He ■ just passed his examination, and having being received, he ■ going to Chalons to study engineering. To take me with him ■ not to be thought of ; but he advised ■ to enlist in a free corps, and gave me the address of Lieutenant-Colonel d'Hilliers, who ■ then organizing the Legion of the Alpa. Some of my friends ■ in the same situation ■ myself ; ■ went therefore together ■ that officer. There ■ five of us ; young, well educated, possessing some fortune, desirous to fight, but, above all, to leave Paris.

M. d'Hilliers received us very well; he gave ■ orders for ■ route, and next morning, the 7th of September, at five o'clock, we ■ on the road to Fontainebleau, ■ knapsacks on our backs, military caps ■ ■ heads, and perfectly well disguised by ■ sort of sailor's dress called a Carmagnole.

I must beg leave to stop for a few moments before I enter the army. I feel a wish to cast ■ look behind me on my conduct during the latter years. My education had been rigid. The principles ■ which it ■ formed were excellent in all respects. Until I ■ twenty years old, all scenes of corruption had been carefully kept out of my sight. My parents, my tutors, all the persons who surrounded me, had shown ■ ■ examples but those of the purest morality. At a period when the most important political questions ■ discussed, my educators preserved me from sharing the errors ■ ■ ■ generally adopted. The ridiculous harangues of the section ■■■ saved ■ from the wish of imitating them. To the

study of the works of Montesquieu I added those of Fenelon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Mably, [redacted] but [redacted] authority of the first awed me. I should have imagined I had committed a bad action if, even in language, I had swerved from the discretion a young man must be inspired with by reading such works. I was therefore wise enough to await a maturer age before I manifested political opinions of any sort, and to consult for my conduct my conscience and my heart. These two guides kept me within the bounds of reason and modesty. The Revolution took me by surprise when I was twenty years old. I was born in too obscure a place to be acquainted with all the abuses which the Revolution was meant to correct. I think, however, I did my duty in embracing the Royal cause; and still, at this present moment, I recur with pleasure to the feelings I experienced. Nevertheless, since I grew acquainted with the emigrants, I have frequently asked myself what I had to do among those privileged persons who reckoned the common-

■■■ for nothing—I who ■■■ born a commoner ? Whether, after victory, they would have shown ■■■ any gratitude for having fought with them ? and also, whether, in case a civil ■■■ had broken out, I should have done a good action in destroying the sacred cause of Liberty, and marching against my countrymen, and perhaps against my family ? I ■■■ not wish for the ■■■ Revolution which took place four years ago, to ■■■ ■■■ of those questions against myself. But at that ■■■ I did not yet know all I have since learned by experience.

. We arrived at Auxerre on the third day ■■■ departure, delighted with having quitted Paris, but full of anxiety for the dear friends ■■■ had left there. The Revolution had also passed through that town, and had left bloody ■■■ behind it. The inhabitants were full of consternation, and deplored several young clergymen, sons of the ■■■ honourable citizens, that had been slaughtered. We lodged with the uncle of one of these victims, the corpse of whom had been ■■■ for three days on

a dunghill, ■■■ parents not being suffered to bury him. We thought that ■■■ ought not ■■■ remain long in that city. We ■■■ off in ■■■ sequence for Autun, and ■■■ arrived next day ■■■ ■■■ village, not far from Vermanton, situated amidst woods, and the inhabitants of which got their livelihood by making wooden shoes. Two days before, a bishop and two of his grand vicars, who ■■■ escaping in a post-coach, ■■■ been arrested by them. The coach ■■■ search-  
ed, and some hundred louis-d'ors having been found in it, the peasants thought the best way to gain the property would be to kill the real owners. Their ■■■ profession being more lu-  
crative than their former one, they resolved to continue it, and in consequence ■■■ themselves on the look-out after all travellers. Our sailors' dresses were not very promising, but we carried ■■■ heads high,—our manners seemed haughty; and so, a little hunch-backed man, an attorney of the village, guessed we might perhaps contribute ■■■ enrich them.—The inhabitants being resolved not to make

any more wooden shoes, applauded the hunchback's advice. We ■■■ brought to the municipality, whence the mob followed us. The attorney placed himself ■■■ large table, and began reading with emphasis, and in a loud voice, all ■■■ passports: Louis Amedée Auguste d'Aubonne, André Louis Leclerc de ■■ Ronde, ■■■ Chamans de Lavayette. Here the rascal added the *de*, that ■■■ not in my passport. On hearing these aristocratical names, a rumour began: all the eyes directed towards us were hostile, and the hunchback cried out that our knapsacks ought to be examined. The harvest would have been rich. I ■■■ the poorest of the set, and I had five-and-twenty louis in gold. We looked upon ourselves as lost, when D'Aubonne, whose stature was tall, jumped on the table and began to harangue the assembly. ■■■ clever ■■ making verses, and knew ■■■ his fingers' ends ■■■ whole slang dictionary. He began with a volley of abuse and imprecations that surprised the audience; but he soon found his style, and repeated the words—coun-

try—liberty—sovereignty of the people,—with so much vehemence ■ such a thundering voice, that the effect ■ prodigious. He ■ interrupted by unanimous applause. The giddy-headed young man did not stop there. He imperiously ordered Leclerc de la Ronde ■ get upon the table. La Ronde was the cleverest mimic I ■ saw. He ■ thirty-five years old, of a grotesque shape, and as dark ■ a Moor. His eyes ■ sunk in his head and covered with thick black eyebrows, and his nose and chin immeasurably long. D'Aubonne said to the Assembly : " You 'll ■ be able to judge whether ■ not we are Republicans coming from Paris." And turning ■ his companion, he said to him : " Answer ■ the Republican catechism. What is God ? What are the people ? What is a King ?" The other, with ■ contrite air, ■ nasal voice, and winding himself about like a harlequin, answered, " God ■ nature ; the people ■ the poor ; ■ King is a lion,—a tiger,—an elephant—who ■ ■ ■ pieces, devours and crushes the

poor people to death." It was not possible to resist this. Astonishment, shouts, enthusiasm, were carried to the highest pitch. The orators were embraced, — hugged, — carried in triumph. The honour of lodging was grew a subject of dispute. We were forced to drink, and we were as much at a loss how to get away from these brutal wretches, as our friends, as had been to escape out of their hands while they were our enemies. Luckily, D'Aubonne again found means to draw us out of this scrape. He gravely observed, that we had time to stop, and that country claimed the tribute of our courage. They let us go at last. On the road my companions blamed me for having taken a share in the scene, and having maintained an air of gravity that might have become suspicious in the eyes of people who only sought a pretext to murder us. I had nothing to answer to their observations. I admired their presence of mind and their gaiety; but my humour did not accord with such tricks. Nature cannot be

forced. During the farce they had acted, I recollect ~~a~~ fact I had read, I think in a work of the M. Leboeuf, on the History of France during the thirteenth century. A monk of Auxerre, or Dijon, intimated to the abbot of the Benedictines of Paris, who had expressed a wish to ~~see~~ him, that ~~in~~ his ~~opinion~~ he could not leave ~~the~~ country and undertake ~~a~~ distant and so perilous ~~a~~ journey. Alas! ~~at~~ the end of the eighteenth century, the journey ~~was~~ more perilous still!

From this haunt of robbers ~~we~~ went to Autun. One of us had letters of introduction to a member of the Legislative Assembly, who had not been distinguished in the Convention, and ~~was~~ afraid of showing himself ~~in~~ his usual abode. His family consisted of a respectable and clever wife and three charming daughters. Our stay with them might have endangered them; we therefore continued ~~our~~ journey. There, as well as every where else, terror was carried to a great height. Not a motion, not an attempt had been made ~~to~~ counteract the enterprises of

the factious. People remained silent, or left the place, for fear of exposing themselves. The most honest ■■■■■ denounced, the lower classes made every body tremble with their clamour, and became every where masters, through the misunderstanding and ■■■■■ of courage of those who, having property to save, did not blush to turn back before those who had nothing to lose.

We arrived at last, on the 19th of September, at Villefranche, ■■■■■ Lyons, where the legion of Montesquiou was in garrison. M. d'Hiliérs had shown us a pattern of the regimentals, and had boasted to us of the discipline and good appearance of the regiment. We were to be received in the most flattering manner by the officers, all of them well-bred young men, and who would undoubtedly live as brothers with us. We formed to ourselves ■■■■■ delightful ideas of ■■■■■ ■■■■■ of living. As we got ■■■■■ to Villefranche, our excited imagination made us hasten ■■■ pace. We came to the side of a very extensive field, ■■■ the other end of which we saw some troops

manceuvring. My companions, either through some illusion, or indistinctness of vision, fell into rapture at the wonderfully good order of the troops. In fact, their muskets glittered in the rays of the sun, and their lines seemed to present admirable regularity. As for me, I saw nothing but strange dresses, — rather the rags of misery ; and the reader may judge of our consternation, when, — approaching, we found four or five hundred wretches in tattered garments, and none but the officers dressed in the elegant regimentals — had — much admired. We — going away, and should perhaps have taken the dangerous resolution of deserting, when an officer — up to us, and asked — in a strong German accent, whether we had not the honour to belong to the corps. Without waiting for the — of my — panions, I showed my feuille de route. They — all obliged to do the same ; and, as soon as the — were finished, the officer placed — in the rear of the troop, and — entered the city, marching like experienced

soldiers, but ashamed of being seen in such bad company by the fair ~~ladies~~ of Villefranche, who looked ~~at~~ ~~as~~ as ~~they~~ passed, and did not seem greatly ~~to~~ admire ~~their~~ appearance.

This still incomplete legion, whose existence, by the by, was neither long nor brilliant, consisted of the remainder of the regiment of Royal Liegeois that had been disbanded for ~~their~~ wild freaks, and of young men who had enlisted for ten crowns each. They were all of them averse to discipline, and wished to fight for diversion; but the major, M. Ross, ~~was~~ a grave man I have ~~never~~ since met with a person who carried to so great a degree as he did his enthusiasm for the military catechism, and for all the minutiae of the service. He knew just French enough to command his troop, which consisted almost wholly of Flemings and Alsatians. After five-and-twenty years' service he had attained the rank of major; but still M. ~~had~~ was not satisfied. Since he could no longer maintain discipline by flogging, he complained that ~~they~~

mand fatigued him. I [redacted] become his friend because he had found me exact, attentive, and serious [redacted] my exercise. "My friend," he used to say [redacted] me, "you [redacted] always [redacted] to [redacted] army ; there is no [redacted] discipline, [redacted] more order, no more subordination ; woe to the regiment that leaves its garrison for the field of battle ! Oh ! if you [redacted] seen the camp at Verberie [redacted] St.Omer ; what a beautiful sight that was ! The tents all in straight lines ; the troops under arms at four o'clock in the morning, their dresses clean, admirable manœuvres, and in the evening [redacted] the calling over, nobody missing, every body ready ! Now I have to command nothing but tattered wretches ! What [redacted] I to do with these young [redacted] whom it is impossible to keep in order ? This will be [redacted] indeed ! Things will go [redacted] bad as they [redacted] But I [redacted] resolved to retire from service." Poor man, he did, in fact, retire the following year, [redacted] I hope he lived long enough both to wonder and rejoice [redacted] our victories.

I [redacted] a great [redacted] in the beginning. I

had lived in affluence in Paris in the midst of my family, by whom I was beloved, and in the society of agreeable friends. Now I was forced to live with soldiers : the serjeants vouchsafed to protect me, but the officers would cast a look at me. I began to feel some disgust ; but luckily, before it was too late, I made deep reflections on my situation, and I conceived it might be possible to raise myself out of it by giving myself up entirely to the duties I had to fulfil. Till then I had passed my time in coffee-houses, or in reading novels. I left off that idle life : I studied the military law, and rigidly obeyed it in all its details ; so that within six weeks I was made a corporal. My situation was growing better. I still obeyed every body, but I commanded a few.

M. d'Hilliers arrived. Our troop was completely equipped ; and as that officer had served in the regiment of Alsace, he subjected us to such severe and rigid discipline, that in less than two months our legions could vie with the finest corps of the Northern army.

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The duties prescribed for each moment, instead of discouraging me, made me fond of them. The [REDACTED] of a battalion gave me a desire to learn the elements of the [REDACTED] of war, and I read with eagerness several [REDACTED] works that had lately appeared, such as "La Guerre de Poste," by Cossac; "Les Fortifications de Campagne," by De Belair, and others. My colonel, who had taken a liking to me, gave me lessons in strategy and castrametation, and taught me to understand military maps. I [REDACTED] soon raised to the rank of serjeant, and my hopes knew no more bounds when, all on a sudden, General Custines summoned Colonel d'Hilliers to the Rhine army, instead of General Houchard, his first aid-de-camp, who had been appointed [REDACTED] the command of the Moselle army.

The departure of M<sup>s</sup> d'Hilliers was a thunderstroke for [REDACTED]. But he promised to transfer my companions and myself to the Rhine army, and he kept his word. A short time after his arrival at Mentz, we received commissions of

second-lieutenants in the 93rd regiment of infantry of the line.

It [REDACTED] Bourg I received the order to go to the Rhine, and just then arrived the news of the [REDACTED] and death of the King. Although the Jacobins [REDACTED] masters of the town, and added, by their vociferations, consternation to the terror their threats and conduct had already inspired, still the fatal account caused a deep impression on the minds of the public. To form a just idea of that terrible sentence, we must consult a pamphlet published by M. de Chateaubriand in the beginning of 1815, wherein he explains with great sagacity the [REDACTED] motive that induced so many deputies to vote for the death of Louis XVI. The municipality of Paris ruled with all the energy of savage and desperate tyranny. That body insisted at any rate on the death of the King, and threatened openly to murder the whole Royal Family, who were then in their sole power. Many deputies imagined that the only way to save the heir to the throne [REDACTED] his

family, — ■ offer up the unfortunate King as ■ victim to popular fury. They ■ mistaken, but still deserving of pardon. On the other hand, if it be true that Louis XVI. signed the treaty of ~~Trinité~~; that he persuaded the privileged classes ■ leave France ■ enlist under foreign banners; that he had agreed with his brothers and their party, that they should try to deliver him by means of a war that ■ to expose his country to all the horrors of invasion, though he ■ sworn to maintain and execute the constitution:—if all this be true, I do not hesitate to say that he ■ guilty; he could reign ■ longer. But the Conventions had ■ right to try him, and by putting him ■ death they committed a most impolitic fault. Did they not ■ that by taking the life of Louis XVI. they gave the crown to Louis XVIII.? that they ought to have kept the King prisoner, lest they should place ■ king in the hands of the enemy? that the life of a monarch ■ celebrated for weakness, and for ■ and contracted ideas, ought to have

been carefully protected, — he would — late be succeeded by his brother, the qualities of whose mind — so superior — those of the King, and whose character, already known, would have so deplorable — influence — the destiny of France? But the Convention — pressed by passing events, inflamed by resentment, and by the contest of the 10th of August. It consisted in — great part of men without — perience, who, seized with — fatal mania for celebrity, wished to impress the minds of the people with — sort of horror mixed with admiration, by — great act of injustice, which they called an — of national justice. They succeeded ; but the revenge of Europe fell heavily on France, and France, mighty through the fury of her government, subdued the armies of Europe. .

## CHAPTER VII.

I arrive ■ Worms.—Treachery of Dumouries.—Retreat of Custines.—He is recalled and sentenced.—Alexander Beauharnais succeeds him.—Pichegru.—Mission of St. Just.—Atrocities of Schneider.

NONE but young men can well feel the happiness of wearing an epaulette, and particularly those who rise from the ranks. It is ■ feeling of vanity, I own; but that vanity makes heroes. I ■■■ not destined to be one; but it is not my fault, for I ■■■■■ felt a greater degree of incitement. During the journey, I constantly reflected on the duties I should have to fulfil. My heart beat at the thoughts of my country; I ■■■ proud ■■■ the idea of shedding my blood for her. War then raged in all its force. At every place where ■■■ stopped to rest, I read the newspapers; I questioned my

landlords; and whenever I learned that the Rhine army had fought, I burned with impatience. It seemed to me as if I ■■■ the risk of arriving too late. All the ideas that had tormented me in Paris ■■■■■ forgotten; the happiness of fighting for my country ■■■ absorbed them all. If I speak of these deep impressions, that every Frenchman shared, it ■■■ because ■■■ present they ■■■ considered ■■■ criminal.

In the holy week of the year 1793 I arrived at Worms, where the second battalion of my regiment ■■■ in garrison. I went to ■■■ my colonel, M. de Loriol. He ■■■■■ old man, who bore in his countenance all the austerity of a former major, and all his vexation at being obliged to command plebeian officers. He received ■■■ very ill, assigned me a ■■■ pany, and ■■■■■ me away. I then went to my new captain. If the colonel's reception was haughty, that of the captain's ■■■■■ impertinent. ■■■■■ served as serjeant in the King's regiment, the non-commissioned officers of which used to learn ■■■■■ mathematics, to

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distinguish them from their comrades of other corps. This poor man consequently looked upon himself ■ ■ officer of ■ standing. ■ spoke ill of his comrades and superiors ; said a number of absurdities about war, which he ■■■ not understand ; and would perhaps have succeeded in making me very unhappy in my situation, if I had not found a protector in M. de la Poterie, my lieutenant-colonel. This respectable gentleman invited ■ to come and see him frequently, and promised to advance me if I behaved well. ■ was killed a short time after, at the head of his battalion. His memory has always been dear to me, and I shall ■■■ forget the kindness he showed ■■■.

The ■■■ of ■■■ armies began however to diminish. Our conquests had been rapid, but ■■■ in danger of losing them again. Dumouriez, after having deceived both the Court and the Jacobins, wanted to draw the King out of the abyss, and crush ■■■ enemies. His presumption led him to hope that he should be luckier than M. Lafayette. But the army took

no interest in the King, being bound by ■ tie to his person ; and though the troops had ■ affection for a Provisional Government scarcely established, they still remained nobly faithful to their high duty of defending the territory, and insuring the independence of the country. Dumourier lost Belgium, and was obliged to seek refuge in foreign countries, after having committed two disgraceful acts ;—namely, treating with the enemy of his country, and delivering ■■■ the commissioners of the Convention, among whom was ■■■ of his own old comrades, General Bourdonville. The army of the Rhine also was attacked by the enemy with renewed force. Frankfort ■■■ evacuated, and ■■■ retired to Mentz, and from thence farther back. General Custines left there, ■ commander-in-chief, General Doiré ; as commander of the Engineers, Colonel Meguier ; as commander of the fortified camp, Major-General Kleber ; and as commander of the fortress, M. Aubert Dubayet. General Blou ■■■ ordered ■■■ leave the town at the

head of a body of some thousand men, and the garrison of Worms was to oppose his retreat. The command of the four battalions of that garrison was given to a young officer of the staff: this was Dessaix, who subsequently distinguished himself by so many noble feats, and by his heroic character. General Blou, embarrassed in his retreat by an enormous quantity of equipages belonging to persons unconnected with the army, that had been sent out of the town, was unable to resist the imposing force of the enemy, and was obliged to re-enter the city. He and his troops contributed largely to the loss the enemy suffered during the siege.

General Custines might have taken a fine position behind the Queich, but he preferred retiring behind the lines of the Lutter, resting on the mountains of the Vosges, and ■ the Rhine ■ Lauterbourg. The intention of the general in choosing ■ position so far from Mentz, ■ place that could not long be left to itself, was undoubtedly to take leisure to instruct ■ discipline ■ young and inexperienced

army. But he was blamed by many generals, and particularly by Coquebert, one of his aides-de-camp, an officer of distinguished merit, and much esteemed by his commander, not only for his extended information in different branches of military science, but also for a frankness of character, which was perhaps not devoid of some asperity. Two days after the arrival of the head-quarters at Weissemburg, Coquebert went to the general, and after having again brought to his mind the weighty matter that ought to have led him to prefer the position of the Queich, he said somewhat harshly, that evil reports had been the result of his contrary resolution, and that even the word treason had been pronounced. Custines immediately seized his pistols, and, throwing them on the table, cried, "If I am a traitor, blow my brains out!" Coquebert, struck with the noble indignation of a man so unjustly aspersed, was himself confounded, and the only act he gave his general was, to discharge one of the pistols in his own face. He fell: his jaw-

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bone ■■■ broken; but he did not die of his wound. At the trial of General Custines, Coquebert ■■■ called ■■■ witness, in the hope that he would ■■■ his charge; but he behaved like an honourable man, completely justifying his general, and accusing himself of ■■■ of madness. He was subsequently taken prisoner ■■■ the battle of Hondschoote. I ■■■ him afterwards in Paris; but probably the sufferings he experienced during his captivity deranged his intellects, for he completely lost his senses, and died in a madhouse, notwithstanding the pains that were taken for several years to cure him.

The departure of General Houchard left the post of chief of the general staff of the army vacant. Custines bestowed it on Colonel d'Hiliers, who [redacted] made [redacted] major-general, and who chose me for his aide-de-camp. I occupied that post with [redacted] great deal of pleasure, because it was [redacted] advancement, and procured me means of instruction. The army was [redacted] at that time not above forty thousand strong. The generals were well

chosen; most of them belonged to that part of the nobility which had given proofs of fidelity to their country, in defending it against foreigners, but for which they were cruelly punished. Distrust of the nobility was growing stronger every day in the new government. Near the armies were placed commissioners of the Convention, who shared the same sentiments. The extent of power with which they were invested, prompted them to misuse it. The general-in-chief was forced to communicate and discuss with them, not only his plans, but even the particulars of the service. They were the fountains of favour, and their influence soon became dangerous and fatal to the respect due to the general-in-chief. Several commanders bore impatiently the contumely with which these pro-consuls affected to treat things, and they frequently uttered offensive railleries against their persons.

The violent temper of General Custines made him repel with anger contradictions that were rendered unbearable by a total absence of pro-

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priety and military knowledge. His situation grew ■■■ difficult from day to day. It became, however, necessary to act. The ■■■■■ nication with Landau ■■■ ceased to be militarily established. The siege of Mentz ■■■ urged with vigour. Custines was ■■■ this time made commander-in-chief of the Northern army, in the place of General Dampierre, who had been killed. He would not however leave the army of the Rhine without having drawn it out of the unfortunate position in which it then was; he attacked the enemy along his whole line, but without success. It was reported that his intention ■■■ to get his army beaten by the corps of emigrants — an absurd calumny; ■■■ scarcely saw that body on the 17th of May. The fact is, that the general who commanded the right of the army at Lauterbourg did not obey the orders he had received, ■■■ executed them ill. The enemy, who, according to the plan of the general-in-chief, ■■■ to have had his left wing turned, not being attacked on that side, found himself in full force before the centre of the army

commanded by Custines; ■ charge of cavalry  
■ repulsed by ■ masked battery of two field-  
pieces, and in their flight the cavalry hurried  
along with them ■ battalions. I only men-  
tion this battle because it became one of the  
charges against the unfortunate Custines. He  
left ■ ■ the following day for the Northern  
army, where the ■ prejudice and calumny  
awaited him. He was soon after deprived of  
his command, and summoned to Paris, where  
he died ■ the scaffold. His condemnation ■  
one of the first crimes of the sanguinary tribunal  
which afterwards committed so many. Custines  
■ ■ a lover of liberty, and never did ■ thought  
of treason enter his mind. The consolation of  
religion soothed his last moments; and such  
■ the fanaticism of his time, that a man who  
had always shown himself full of intrepidity  
under the greatest trials, ■ accused of cow-  
ardice because he walked to the ■ ■ ■ ■  
panied by ■ clergyman.

General Custines ■ his son with him ■  
the Army of the Rhine. All who have known

that young man loved him for the noble qualities with which he was gifted. He accompanied his father to the Northern army, and afterwards to Paris, and he soon followed him to the scaffold. It is of little importance to know what pretence ■■■ employed to condemn this amiable youth; the judges had already begun to trample ■■■ the most sacred forms. His age, his profession, his manner of living, made him equally ■■■ stranger to all factions. He left an only son, who will, I hope, not betray the noble qualities of his father and the glory of his grandfather.

General Alexander de Beauharnais, who took the place of Custines, had also been ■■■ member of that Constituent Assembly, ■■■ replete with honourable ■■■. He had neither the faults of his predecessor, ■■■ his habit of command. The former ■■■ violent to an excess, and sometimes incapable of listening to the voice of ■■■ son ; still, he ■■■ beloved by the soldiers for his frankness and popularity. M. de Beauharnais, on the contrary, had ■■■ cultivated mind and ■■■ calm temper ; he was fond of order and

discipline; his activity — boundless; his perception — quick and accurate; his valour cool and brilliant. The army soon became fond of him. Modest, and — a little circumspect, he showed — in the presence of the troops; and — he did not say much to them, he did not inspire them with the — enthusiasm — General Custines, who liked to make speeches, knew the — of every private soldier, visited the men in the camp and hospitals, and whose blunt good-humour and repartees were quoted everywhere.

General d'Hilliers was also superseded and summoned to Paris, where he — thrown into prison. — successor as chief of the staff was Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, of Irish extraction, who — years before had been attached to the Duke of Orleans. At the battle of the 17th May he commanded a troop of the 2nd regiment of cavalry. His horse having been killed in a charge, and being unable to procure another, he took up a musket and placed himself in the ranks of a company of grenadiers. That

action was then considered as very courageous, and he was made a colonel. M. de Beauharnais took him for chief of his staff, and procured him the rank of major-general. M. Clarke added to a taste for his profession all the suppleness of a man who wishes to advance, and that sort of spirit of intrigue for which his countrymen were reputed. He left the army on the 12th of October, having been superseded and sent to Paris. That campaign was the only one in which he had served. He died a marshal of France. I shall have more than occasion to mention him; and although I have been to be dissatisfied with him, I hope to do him justice.

M. de Beauharnais hastened his march to Mentz; and though the resistance of the army grew stronger from day to day, he succeeded in repelling him. After having fought for five days, we made ourselves master of Spire and Frankenthal. Two days more and we should have arrived under the walls of Mentz, when accounts of the town having

capitulated were received at ■■■ head-quarters. We ■■■ forced to return behind the Lutter.

Courage and good intention ■■■ the only qualities of the garrison of Mentz ■■■ the beginning of the siege. The generals ■■■ intelligent and bold; but the attacks of the besiegers ■■■ so vigorous and repeated, that the besieged, soldiers ■■ well ■■ officers, acquired both experience and valour in ■■ remarkable ■■ degree, that they might afterwards be looked upon ■■ the most formidable body the Republic ■■ able to oppose to its enemies.

The Prussians, eager to make themselves masters of that barrier of the Rhine, and not caring what ■■■ the French government might make of these troops, ■■■ satisfied with stipulating that they should retire into the interior of the country, and not ■■■ against the Allies for the space of ■■ year. This article of the capitulation saved the Republic, and cost the enemy dear. The garrison of Mentz, commanded by the intrepid general Kleber, flew to the western departments, defeated the Vendean,

and when the year was expired re-appeared under the walls of Mentz.

Having returned to Weissemburg, we were obliged to prepare for the attacks of an army that had become formidable by his junction with the Prussian army, and were besides free in all his movements. But the commissioners of the Convention wanted first of all to abolish the distinction that still subsisted between the troops of the line and the battalions of national volunteers. That amalgamation was a difficult and dangerous operation at the moment of a decisive action. The generals explained their fears; but instead of being listened to, they became objects of suspicion; and, just at that instant, a decree of the Convention having ordered the dismissal of all the officers who belonged to the nobility, the Army of the Rhine was thrown all of a sudden into a state of confusion, of which the enemy did not neglect to make use. The decree also concerned M. de Beauharnais: by disobeying, he would have placed himself in open defiance to Government.

The Commissioners however, proposed that he should wait for an individual order and the appointment of his successor ; but the Committee of Public Safety had already named the officer that — to command in his place. The choice had fallen — General Delmas, a young man of great merit, but — yet too inexperienced for so important — command in such difficult circumstances : he — besides at Landau, and that town being blockaded, his return to the army was impossible.

General Beauharnais was deeply grieved — leaving the army : his noble spirit could not brook the thought of departing from the — of the glorious contest to which the voice of the country called all Frenchmen. In returning to the interior of the Republic, he — was exposed — innumerable dangers. He had constantly supported the system of representative government ; and although he felt the necessity of defending a Republic born amidst storms, yet the system of the Jacobins and their cruelty inspired him with horror. All

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the members of the Constituent Assembly were persecuted, and — the purest and most prudent conduct — far from ensuring him tranquillity in — obscure retreat. I — in his closet at the moment that he — confiding his grief and regret to the bosom of his faithful friend Lahorie, who had been his secretary, and who was then one of the officers of his staff. This gentleman advised him to attack the enemy and seek an honourable death, rather than expose himself to all the outrages of his foes in the interior of France. The advice was — courageous than wise. The general answered: — “ I must first of all consider the interest of the army and my country. I do not flatter myself — to my future fate; but the death of — many brave — must not rest on my head, — all the fatal consequences of a defeat. The army will perhaps be commanded by a — fortunate chief; besides, the decree that supersedes — is positive: even victory would be looked upon — crime, and I — possibility of gaining one at present: we have

scarcely thirty-five thousand men, in bad order ; and the enemy have eighty thousand : my death would be of no use ; I must go." The day after, he resigned his command and left the army, which remained without a commander in the presence of a formidable enemy, and the organization went on but slowly. Little attention was paid to that state of disorder. Forty thousand farmers arrived without a or regiments : they were undoubtedly well disposed ; but they had no experience, having never faced the enemy. The choice of a general-in-chief was a difficult one : the post was first offered to General Laudremont, who commanded the vanguard ; but he was a nobleman ; and though he had great merit, he was recalled a few days after his appointment. Thus it was necessary to seek somebody else, and Colonel Corbin did not fear to take the burden on his shoulders. Two days after his appointment, the commissioners of the Convention, to put him entirely at his ease, dismissed abruptly from the army thirteen generals, the chief of the staff,

the commander of the vanguard, generals of division, ■■■■■ spared. This foolish measure ■■■ adopted ■■■ the 12th of October 1793, and on the 13th, at four o'clock in the morning, the enemy attacked ■■■ on the whole length of ■■■ line, broke through ■■■ ranks, put ■■■ to the rout, and at eight o'clock ■■■ had lost the lines and were in full retreat towards Brompt in the greatest disorder. By good-luck, our forty thousand peasants ■■■ so active in their flight, they did not long embarrass our retreat ; they had their houses and families to defend. The second day there ■■■ not ■■■ of them remained behind : nevertheless they afterwards became very excellent soldiers when they ■■■ recalled ; but they had been rendered able to fight before they were placed in front of the enemy. The rear-guard was well enough commanded to ■■■ our retreat : it fought courageously ■■■ the heights of Brompt during a whole day, ■■■ that the army had time to arrive ■■■ Haguenau ; there the commissioners and the general-in-chief deliberated whether it would not be best

■ retire to Saverne ■ leave Strasburg ■ defend itself; happily, before they came to ■ resolution, they thought it necessary to consult M. de Villemantzy, commissary general of the army. He declared that Strasburg having constantly furnished the army with provisions ■ stores, its magazines ■ completely exhausted, and that ■ time would necessarily elapse before the town could be put in a state to support ■ siege; ■ that, if left to itself, it ■ be feared it would be obliged to capitulate. M. de Villemantzy was taken prisoner at Haguenuau, where he had remained to keep ■ eye on the evacuation of the magazines: the general opinion ■ the time was, that he had delivered himself up. If that be true, I think he acted wisely; he would undoubtedly have been ■ rested on his arrival at Strasburg, and probably have died ■ the scaffold. He passed for an enemy of the Republic. I can say nothing ■ that: all I know is, that he ■ ■ well-bred, agreeable man, and ■ his situation ■ ■ object of envy. Villemantzy's observations made

[REDACTED] council resolve to [REDACTED] the town; the head-quarters [REDACTED] established at Schiltikeim, a village a league from Strasburg. The army extended in a line of more than ten leagues, from the banks of the Rhine to Saverne, and until orders from Government could be received, [REDACTED] chief command was entrusted to General Michaud. This temporary choice was a wise [REDACTED] General Michaud was a prudent man, who felt the danger of his situation, and did his utmost to make the best of it, presenting to the enemy an appearance of strength that forced them to be cautious.

It was Wurmser who commanded the combined armies opposed to [REDACTED]. With a little more resolution he might have beat [REDACTED] again, and perhaps made himself master of Strasburg. But he reckoned on the friends he flattered himself he possessed in Alsatia. He was persuaded by the government of the Jacobins, and his own intrigues, would make the whole population of the province fly to him. He was mistaken. The Austrians were still more de-

tested than [REDACTED] the Jacobins, for the Alsatians [REDACTED] Frenchmen. While he [REDACTED] contriving low intrigues, the army [REDACTED] time to recover, and the [REDACTED] frontiers were saved.

At last the arrival of a general-in-chief was announced; but [REDACTED] astonishment was great when [REDACTED] heard the name of Pichegru: he was completely unknown to the army. After many enquiries, we learned that he had had an obscure command in the department of the Upper Rhine; that he [REDACTED] served in the artillery as a non-commissioned officer; and that [REDACTED] had a little while before been chief clerk in the War-office. The name of Pichegru, which a short time after became famous in France and all [REDACTED] Europe, was mentioned with contempt by all the giddy-headed youths of the army. A few days were however sufficient to gain him the [REDACTED] of every [REDACTED] I [REDACTED] still on the staff, and was one of the first persons who saw him. He was about thirty-five, and of middling size. [REDACTED] eyes were fine, full of [REDACTED] and intelligence; [REDACTED] air was martial, and his deportment calm and

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dignified in [redacted] highest degree. [redacted] began by restoring order in the army, [redacted] by rectifying as much [redacted] possible [redacted] that [redacted] faulty in its positions. He again inspired the troops with a consciousness of their strength, spoke to them of their duty without harshness, and promised them [redacted] without exaggeration. The winter [redacted] then in all its rigour; many were the obstacles to be surmounted, but they [redacted] the same for both armies. The Prussians and Austrians did not agree well together; their generals hated one another; and M. de Wurmser appeared timid and irresolute. Our part was therefore to make [redacted] of the favourable chances those circumstances presented us, to attack and raise the blockade of Landau. We soon received reinforcements, and St. Just, [redacted] member of the Committee of Public Safety, arrived unexpectedly at the army. The [redacted] duct of that young man made [redacted] acquainted with the existence of a government most terrible from its energy, while we imagined we were swayed by a turbulent and stupid [redacted]

bly. St. Just severely reprimanded his colleagues, and sent several of them away. He asked also an account of the [redacted] that had led to the loss of the lines of Weissemburg ; he arrested several generals, and eight [redacted] superior officers. Among them [redacted] the poor noblemen who had not yet left the army. A sanguinary tribunal sentenced them, and they [redacted] shot in front of the ranks. This [redacted] an useless [redacted] of cruelty ; for no treason had been committed, and the loss of the lines was much less owing to the generals, than to the bad [redacted] of the commissioners of the Convention ; but St. Just had read that the Romans sometimes made use of cruel severity to re-establish discipline among their troops ; and that man, who imagined he possessed the genius of Sylla, because he had his cruelty, thus made [redacted] prelude to the scenes of murder which [redacted] few months after he extended all [redacted] France. He probably thought he had made [redacted] just compensation by threatening the president of the atrocious tribunal he [redacted] employed. This [redacted] was [redacted] wretched foreign priest,

called Schneider, who gloried in ~~the~~ assumed ~~the~~ of the ~~Marie~~ of the Rhine. For several months he ~~had~~ acted ~~as~~ president of the tribunal ~~and~~ general of the revolutionary army, and ~~ruined~~ Alsatia with his cruelty and debauchery. He used to travel through the province, followed by judges who ~~were~~ no better than robbers, and by soldiers, who were ~~his~~ executioners. A guillotine drawn by horses, like a field-piece, accompanied him every where; and when he arrived in any town, not one of the inhabitants could count ~~on~~ escaping. Sex, age, beauty, respectability, fortune,—nothing was sacred in the eyes of this wretch. Of all the ferocious ~~men~~ that made themselves famous during ~~that~~ period, Schneider perhaps bore the greatest resemblance to Nero. The sight of death and blood gave him a sensation of unspeakable delight. The examples of this monster of cruelty have in them a ~~kind~~ of originality that makes one shudder; and ~~one~~ would wish to doubt their truth, ~~if~~ the testimony of ~~one~~ hundred thousand inhabitants

and the evidence of facts were not certain proofs of their existence. St. Just [redacted] the monster arrested and sent to Paris. There [redacted] condemned, not for the crimes he had really committed, but for prior conspiracies that [redacted] existed; [redacted] far [redacted] justice reviled in those deplorable times.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**Opening of the Campaign of 1794.—Our victories.—The Legion of Condé.—Junction of the Armies of the ■■■■■ and the Moselle.—Discussions.—The two Generals ■■■■■ separated.—I return ■■■■■ Paris with General d'Hilliers.—Observations ■■■■■ the Army of the Rhine.**

THE campaign opened in the month of December. The right wing of the army — commanded by General St. Cyr, and the left by General Desaix. General Hoche, who was ■ the head of the Army of the Moselle, ■ conded our movements by vigorous and perpetually renewed attacks. Brilliant though dearly bought ■■■■■ brought ■■■■■ heights of Brompt; they caused us both to love and respect our new general-in-chief.

It was — Brompt that we had a cavalry engagement with the corps of Condé, in which

the point of taking prisoners a part of that corps, with the three Princes who commanded it. The Duke of Bourbon ■■■ wounded, but he escaped by the devotion of the brave men that surrounded him, and by one of those chances the influence of which ■■■ strongly modifies events. An officer of the 39th regiment of dragoons, called Dieudonné, had distinguished himself by valour on those ■■■ heights of Brompt during ■■■ retreat. The commissioners of the Convention sent him to Paris to present two standards he had taken. He ■■■ received with marked distinction by the Assembly, and he returned to the army a month afterwards with the rank of general of brigade. In the battle which might have been so ■■■ to the Bourbon Princes, Dieudonné commanded two regiments. That ■■■ too much for his experience. ■■■ did not know how to develope them in due time, and the Princes were saved. His ■■■ was considered ■■■ crime : he was arrested and sent to Paris as a traitor ; ■■■ on the scaffold.

The battle of Brompt gave ■■■ superiority ■■■ the enemy, which we did not afterwards ■■■ General Hoche continued advancing on ■■■ right of the enemy. He succeeded in turning his position near Pirmasens; and ■ few days after, while debouching from behind the mountains, the two French armies ■■■ near Weisseenburg. The enemy, discouraged, began to retreat, and Landau ■■■ delivered. Pichegru's fame ■■■ from that ■■■ ment firmly established. ■■■ also displayed his character in ■ trait I must not omit. General Desaix ■■■ of noble extraction; but the decree that excluded all noblemen had ■■■ yet been applied to him. The commissioners of the Convention hesitated to deprive the army of an able, valiant, and beloved officer. The Committee of Public Safety, nevertheless, ■■■ three times to Pichegru orders to dismiss him; but he did not obey them, and even took care ■■■ ■ mention the fact to any one. It was not till the campaign was over that Desaix learned it. Thus, by ■■■ generous disobedience,

he saved a general who, during ten years, shed lustre on the armies of France, and whose noble character may be offered as a model to all soldiers.

The junction of the two armies, after such great successes, was a beautiful sight. The generals congratulated one another on their mutual exertions; but discord soon created between them dissensions more dangerous than even the enemy had proved. Each pretended to the greatest share of the glory, and wounded vanity would perhaps have soiled the field of victory with blood, had not government checked the misunderstanding by separating the commanders. Pichegru was sent to the Northern army, and Hoche to that which was assembled at Nice. He had scarcely arrived there when he was arrested, and shut up in the dungeon of the Conciergerie, where he remained until after the 9th of Thermidor. Thus the Committee of Public Safety made him despise his glory, and humbled his proud character.

The Army of the Rhine pursued its successes during the remainder of the year 1794. Our position ■ the Queich was ■■■■■ the Austrians had repassed the Rhine. We had some other brilliant actions with the Prussians; and I remember that at the close of one of them ■■■■■ proved entirely to ■■■■■ advantage, in the environs of Germersheim, we saw the words chalked on the doors of ■ village we ■■■■■ taken, —“ Adieu ! brave Frenchmen !” A short time after, the treaty of ■■■■■ was signed, and established friendship between two nations which already esteemed one another. The common hatred awoke again ■ a ■■■■■ recent period, and a long time will ■■■■■ be required to suppress it.

In the month of October the army established itself before Mentz, to keep the enemy in awe, and prevent him from advancing on that point. The soldiers constructed huts under ground in a very ingenious manner. Protected by field fortifications that covered ■■■■■ of camp, they passed there ■■■■■ of ■■■■■

longest and severest winters — recorded. The result aimed at in taking that position — obtained, — least, during six months; but it was too dearly bought. In the month of January, one-half of the army lay sick in the hospitals. In June the enemy again began his operations, and, — we might have foreseen, he crossed the Rhine behind us, turned our position, and obliged us to fall back — the Lutter. General Moreau came to take the command of the Army of the Rhine. The history of that campaign is known; I — therefore enter into no particulars concerning it. I left the army — little while before its retreat. General d'Hilliers had just got out of prison, and had been appointed chief of the — of the first military division in Paris. — proposed to me to return and — my duty — aide-de-camp. I — happy in the army, but I wished to see my family — more; so I set off.

Before I leave the Army of the Rhine, to which I shall not again allude, — must beg permission to take leave of it with a few lines.

The army was by no means the first, either by its consequence or its exploits. Its duty was to protect Alsatia and defend that part of the Palatinate it had conquered. It succeeded by battles strongly disputed, but in the issue always favourable; and it was of great service to France, for the enemy coveted that part of frontiers that he would perhaps have restored. Lorraine is the cradle of the Imperial house, and the Germans look upon Alsatia as a part of the empire, which it was much to their advantage as their honour to unite again to the mother country;—there prevail the same language, the same customs, the same religion, and, above all, the strong wish of weakening France, and enabling themselves to attack her in the very heart. The plan is not yet given up.

The Army of the Rhine shared at that period with our other armies the advantage of being commanded by generals and officers, almost all of whom had risen from its ranks or been instructed among them. At the head of the most ~~the~~ must be placed Kleber, Desaix,

and ■■■ Cyr. Kleber was born ■■■ Strasburg : he had served before the Revolution in the Austrian army, and he came to ours as commander of ■■■ battalion of volunteers of the Upper Rhine. ■■■ stature was strong ■■■ gigantic, and called to mind the heroes of Ho-■■■ ■■■ voice ■■■ sonorous and imperious ; his spirit ■■■ and warmed ■■■ the sight of danger ; though learned in all the branches of military science, he ■■■ not gifted with that boldness of execution that distinguished other generals : but he possessed the prudence which long ■■■ perience gives, joined to the resources derived from ■■■ imperturbable coolness and rapid per-ception. Of all our generals, Kleber ■■■ perhaps the one of whom the soldiers retain the most flattering recollection, for he loved them ■■■ if they had been his children, ■■■ continually thinking of their comforts, and diverted them in the midst of their perils by quaint sayings, which ■■■ rendered ■■■ piquant by the harsh ■■■ of ■■■ mother tongue.

Dessaix, who ■■■ born in Auvergne, had

served for several years as an officer in the regiment of Brittany. His stature was tall, and his figure singular. His ~~had~~ fiery eyes, and a ~~was~~ that seemed to descend from the top of the forehead ; his thick and usually separated lips showed a set of teeth of sparkling whiteness ; his hair, flat and ~~was~~ jet, shaded his dark face. His gait ~~was~~ embarrassed, but still without awkwardness, and betrayed bashfulness and want of knowledge of the world. Altogether, he resembled a savage of the banks of the Oroonoko dressed in French clothes. But one ~~was~~ got accustomed to him. His voice was soft, and, when once drawn out of his usual reserve, he delighted by the variety of his information and the simplicity of ~~his~~. He had ~~was~~ of the faults of ~~was~~ accustomed to camp life : I never heard him utter a vulgar expression,—an indecent word made him blush. As he was constantly easy and kind, ~~he~~ led a merry life, and the pretty girls of the Palatinate used frequently to visit his head-quarters. ~~He~~ smiled

■ our pleasures without sharing them, ■ with the indulgence of ■ father who shuts his eyes ■ ■ children's wild tricks. I do not think I ■ saw him dressed in the uniform of ■ rank : he usually ■ ■ ■ blue coat without any lace, and the sleeves of which ■ ■ ■ short, that ■ used to say in jest, he had certainly ■ it when he first took the Sacrament. He frequently mounted his horse without a sword when he went to visit the posts. One night, having ordered ■ attack on the convent of Marienborn, ■ Mentz, which the enemy occupied in force, he suddenly found himself without ■ in the midst of a surprised body of infantry which ■ defending itself with the bayonet amongst the vines. Dessaix, perceiving he had forgot his sword, pulled a vine prop out of the ground, and continued fighting ■ ■ ■ had ■ Orlando's sword in ■ hand. Savary, who ■ then ■ aide-de-camp, threw himself ■ ■ him, just in time to ■ his life, ■ killed ■ Hungarian grenadier ■ was about ■ pierce him with his bayonet.

I must not forget General St. Cyr, though still alive and in the enjoyment of power;—but this work ■ not meant to appear till after my death. He entered the army as captain of ■ free corps raised in Paris during the terrible month of September 1792. This troop, which consisted of Parisian vagabonds, (I need not say any more,) boasted on the road that they ■ going to teach the army the right step, meaning that they would make it republican; for, to say the truth, ■ were neither robbers nor braggars. However, they committed such terrible outrages, that General Custines ordered his cavalry to surround and disarm them, after which they ■ disbanded. St. Cyr remained in consequence unemployed. He had in his early youth visited as an artist Italy and Greece, and he had ■ great facility for drawing. One day he ■ busy ■ Mentz sketching the positions of Oekheim, when General Custines, whose glance was piercing, observing him ■ a distance, darted towards him with all the swiftness his horse was capable of. See-

ing him dressed in a uniform he detested, he asked him angrily what he [REDACTED] doing, and [REDACTED] the paper out of [REDACTED] hands. Finding, however, that the positions were taken accurately, he asked him [REDACTED] questions, appeared satisfied with his answers, and appointed him officer of the staff. A few months afterwards, and shortly before our disaster at Weissembourg, chance [REDACTED] still [REDACTED] serviceable to him. We had been repulsed in the pass of Annweiller; the commissioners of the Convention, seeing treason every where, knew not to whom they ought to entrust the command of the troops: St. Cyr [REDACTED] crossing the street under the windows of the head-quarters; an officer pointed to him [REDACTED] a man in whom the greatest confidence might be placed. He [REDACTED] called up-stairs, and after a few questions, the commissioners proposed to him to march off with two thousand men and attack the enemy. [REDACTED] sirname Gouvion, however, made them frown; the same [REDACTED] been that of [REDACTED] friend of M. [REDACTED] Lafayette, [REDACTED] former major-general of the National Guards.

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of Paris. Though the latter [been killed in the army, [relations were not the less persecuted for that. St. Cyr beat the enemy, made [hundred prisoners, and retook the positions. Three months later he was a general of division. He constantly commanded the centre of the army, and was called its shield. Next to these celebrated generals shone a great number of young men, who have all acquired lasting glory,—Sainte Suzenne, Guyot, Bourzier, Bellavesne, Ferino, Haxo, Dode, Nempde, Clemencel, Fririon, D'Astrel, and the unfortunate Laborie! was praiseworthy for his constancy of spirit, which ten years' adversity was unable to shake, and who received death with a smile. And you also, my old chiefs, my dear friends! why cannot I surround your [with all the splendour of your noble deeds? You greatly contributed to [France! Could you expect that your services would one day be rewarded by forgetfulness and persecution?

With such chiefs, and friends of the soldiers, most of whom [commanded [private offi-

discipline was exact, but gentle. They all loved their profession, and were well acquainted with it. Mean jealousy, hatred, and backbiting, were unknown. The oldest of these generals was scarcely thirty, and the Revolution having found them in a middling condition, and at a time of life when luxury and corruption have not yet gained an empire over the mind, they had no wish but for glory, and glory itself pleased them only when surrounded by perils. I have frequently heard doubts raised as to the skill of our generals, notwithstanding the constant success by which their fame has been established. It has been declared impossible to learn so quickly and so well the most difficult of all sciences, and that which more than any other requires a number of different branches of knowledge, which can only be acquired by a great loss of time, particularly where the peculiar education is wanting, as is the case with most of the Republican generals. It is well sufficiently known that the quality necessary to attain dis-

tinction in the military [REDACTED] is strength of mind. That gift of nature, which is [REDACTED] little esteemed, and of so little [REDACTED] in ordinary life, [REDACTED] however [REDACTED] important, that it might have saved France a few years ago, if those who [REDACTED] time influenced her fate had been possessed of it. It is quite indispensable in the military profession. Nature alone can give it: and she did give it to all our celebrated generals. In the second place, it is not true that their education had been neglected; for, to speak only of those of the first period of the war, Pichegru, Bernadotte, Jourdan, Moreau, Kleber, Desaix, St. Cyr, and Hoche, (the latter [REDACTED] bred at the school of the sons of [REDACTED] *gardes Françaises*,) had all studied the military art. The education of most of them had been as well attended to [REDACTED] that of the nobility. It must also be considered, that in other professions the most ambitious student [REDACTED] scarcely devote more than twelve hours a-day to his studies, and is frequently interrupted; whereas, in the army, every instant is given up to mili-

tary knowledge. A passion for glory, ambition, the pleasure of command, freedom from the duties of the world,— all induce soldiers to talk and think unceasingly of their profession. The variety of events, their rapidity, their number, hourly correct the wrong judgment of young officers, enrich their memory, multiply the examples they may want, and complete their improvement. Their mistakes appear in open daylight; they ■ quickly punished; and as the blow strikes not only the guilty, but also those who are placed below ■ around him, each individual is in ■ respect answerable for his neighbour, and all have the greatest interest in acting well.

The composition of the troops, as well as their valour, contributed also to ■ successes. The love of their country and the hatred of ■ foreign yoke had animated them even under the paternal roof since the year 1789. At the first call, the citizens flew to the frontiers; ■ great number of well-educated young men, whom the passion for glory and ambition had

assembled under the banners of the army, were like a nursery of excellent officers. The ■■■■■ Marseillaise hymn ■■■■■ every breast with such deep emotion and enthusiasm, that its ■■■■■ was sufficient to make the troops rush on the enemy with irresistible impetuosity. At Gaisberg, near Weissembourg, the enemy had crowned the plateau with thirty cannons, which dealt death and devastation into ■■■■■ ranks. The troops advanced nevertheless with a slow step: when they arrived at the foot of the frontier, the warlike song was heard, and at the instant the soldiers, as if they had been borne up by a whirlwind, ■■■■■ every difficulty. The position was taken, the ■■■■■ in ■■■■■ power, and the enemy put to flight.

The perils and sufferings our troops endured at that period ■■■■■ the ■■■■■ deserving of admiration, because they had ■■■■■ other compensation than the love of their country and their ambition. The most simple enjoyments were unknown to us. We ■■■■■ all of us poor.

The soldier received no more than an écu per month in money ; and the officers, of all ranks, only eight francs. Our salaries were paid us in assignats, which were already depreciated in France, and were of no value at all in foreign countries. During the winter of 1794, I shared with one of my comrades a peasant's room in the village of Fintheim near Mentz : we had only one bed amongst us, and every week we drew lots who was to sleep in it ; the rest lay upon straw. Our assignats were barely sufficient to procure us a little bad wine three times a month : we knew that our landlord possessed a considerable quantity, but none of us ever cherished the idea of forcing him to give it us for nothing. My companions were all young officers of engineers. Three of them, Haxo, Dode, and Nempde, became celebrated generals in that corps, — the rest were killed.

I beg pardon for having dwelt so long on this subject. To the Army of the Rhine I owe those qualities that have embellished my

life, and the strength of mind that decided my fate. When I entered it, I was full of enthusiasm, but my ideas on military subjects were confused, and I wanted experience. I had not yet seen the enemy, and I was very anxious to know what figure I should cut in the first battle. My ardent courage did not leave me full liberty for reflection ; but I was lucky enough to be attached to the division of General Desaix. The easy and immoveable calmness, the soft cheerfulness of that excellent man in the midst of the most murderous fire, made me sensible that there exists real valour without those qualities. I reflected seriously, and was discontented with myself. I did not know how to manage my horse when in the direction of the balls ; I crossed too rapidly the field of action ; and I frequently went a round-about way, when I could have rode straight before me. I blushed at such foolish conduct, and schooled myself well, that when shot I lost all power of embarrassing me. It required time before I arrived

at that degree of self-possession. How often ■■ I not ■■ back ■■ place myself purposely in the middle of the fire! How satisfied I ■■ when I had remained long in such ■ situation! That moral strength did not contribute considerably to my advancement, but it made me worthy of being the aide-de-camp of the Conqueror of Italy, and gained ■■ his esteem: it also made me bear prosperity with moderation, and ■■ ■ strong support to me in the days of misfortune.

## CHAPTER IX.

Paris in August 1794.—Constitution of the III Year.—Revolt of the Sections.—Bonaparte.—The 18th Vendémiaire.

I arrived in Paris towards the middle of August. When I left that city in 1792, the people, freed from the wholesome restraint of the laws, intoxicated with fury, and elated with their abominable triumphs, were madly enjoying a savage licentiousness, and, without threatening, ever oppressive, set no bounds to their tyranny. What a change will I not find after the short space of three years! Scarcity was terrible, misery at the highest pitch, and the dethroned sovereign scarcely dared to complain. The people were no better than a vile rabble, devoid of energy, shrinking under the

rod that chastised them, but having not even the thought of resistance. In the morning, the city presented a deplorable spectacle: thousands of [redacted] and children were sitting on the stones before the doors of the bakers' shops, waiting their turn for receiving a dearly bought bit of bread. More than one-half of Paris lived on potatoes. Paper money was without value, and bullion without circulation: this lasted nearly a year. A still stranger sight struck the observer's eyes. The unfortunate prisoners had recovered their liberty, and having escaped almost certain death, they enjoyed their good luck with a sort of ecstasy. The dangers to which they had been long exposed excited a lively interest in their favour; but vanity, so ingenious in France, discovered the means of turning their situation to advantage. Each person pretended to have suffered more than his neighbour; and as it was the fashion to have been persecuted, a great many people who had remained safe in their hiding-places, or had bought their security by base conces-

sions, boasted of having languished in prison. An immense number of innocent persons had, in fact, perished — the scaffold; but if credit could have been given to the accounts propagated by hatred and vanity, one might have thought that one-half of Paris had imprisoned or butchered the other half. Confusion was at this period at its highest pitch in society: all distinctions of rank had disappeared; wealth had changed possessors; and — it was still dangerous to boast of birth, and to recall the memory of former gentility, the possessors of newly-acquired wealth led the ton, and added the absurdities of a — education to those of patronage devoid of dignity. The class of artists, were commendable, acquired consideration through the general thirst for amusement, and through the necessity many persons were in of seeking a livelihood in the — of imagination. This — for the fine arts was universally diffused, caused in the fashions, and — in the morals of the metropolis, a — inconceivable licentiousness: the young men

dressed their hair — *victimes*—that ■ to say, raised up at the back of the neck as if they — going to suffer on the scaffold. The — men, on the contrary, imitated in their dresses the costume of Ancient Greece. It ■ scarcely credible to those who have not — it, that young females, well-bred, and distinguished by their birth, should have — tight skin-coloured pantaloons, sandals on their feet, and transparent gauze dresses, while their bosoms were exposed, and their arms bare up to their shoulders; and that when they appeared thus in public places, instead of making modesty blush, they became objects of universal admiration and applause. The palaces and private gardens were changed into scenes of riotous pleasure, called Elysium, Paphos, Tivoli, Idalia, &c., where crowds of people, boisterous diversions, bad manners, and an utter contempt for decency, created both shame and disgust.

Between the two extremes of the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. — and the Chaussée d'Antin, — still ■ met with the esti-

mable citizens, and those ■■■■■ well-informed men, friends to their country and to freedom, whose indignation, hitherto suppressed by terror, blazed up with an energy that ■ last brought on the catastrophe of the 18th of Vendémiaire. To unfold the ■■■■■ of that catastrophe, it is necessary to ■■■■■ a look ■ the government of the Conventional Assembly.

That Assembly had been loaded with ■■■■■ enormous burthen. The King had been precipitated from his throne, and the monarchy ■isted no longer. The Republic had been established without consulting the people ; and the King had been put to death because his ■istence ■■■■■ troublesome to the Assembly. The members soon became few, and they ■■■■■ composed of elements too hostile to ■■■■■ another to be able to direct ■■■■■ securely and ■pidly ; they enacted therefore among themselves ■ government called the Committee of Public Safety, that was to superintend the general administration of the country, ■■■■■ direct the exertions of France against her fo-

reign enemies. They instituted also a Committee of General Safety, that — to suppress — attacks of interior foes. The — of the Vendean and of the allied armies carried these two committees beyond all reasonable ideas, and made the Convention feel that it must conquer — die. Defence — maintained with — the force and energy that personal safety and revenge can inspire. The excellent direction given to the armies, which they followed with admirable courage, preserved France from — foreign yoke; but the progress of civil war, and the secret exertions of the royalists, could scarcely justify the massacres and the horrible tyranny under which the country groaned for — long a period. The rulers of the Assembly will remain for — loaded with — the odium which their barbarous government (of which history does not present another instance) will excite among future generations. Of all the lessons given by the history of human passions, there is — especially — which the moralist must — with force—I mean,

the impossibility, which the ■■■ honourable men will ever experience, of stopping, if once their passions draw them into the path of error. Surely, if a few years before ■■■ many crimes were committed, they could have been pictured before the eyes of the most barbarous among their perpetrators, I fear not to say that all, ■■■ Robespierre himself, would have recoiled with horror. Men begin by caressing theories, heated imagination presents them ■■■ useful and easy of execution ; they toil, they advance ■■■ consciously from errors to faults, and from faults to crimes, ■■■ the contaminated mind corrupts sensibility, and adorns by the ■■■ of ■■■ policy the most horrible outrages.

It must however be acknowledged, that several of those ■■■ ■■■ themselves justified, and, perhaps encouraged, by the praises which history of all ■■■ have lavished ■■■ the scourges of humanity. The pulpit itself has ■■■ been ■■■ ■■■ avoid ■■■ ■■■ folly. Every schoolboy ■■■ learned by heart the beautiful picture of Cromwell drawn by Bossuet :—“ A ■■■ was

found," &c. What ambitious mind can hesitate on the road to crime, when he reads such praises written by the first of sacred orators? The Cardinal de Richelieu found a defender in the grave and wise author of "L'Esprit des Lois;" his cruelty, his thirst of blood and revenge, were considered by most historians as the workings of a superior mind, at least as a proud contempt for humanity. The memory of that man has perhaps done more harm to France, than his genius did her good. The execrable maxim, "The dead never rise again," is written in letters of blood throughout his history; and I have many reasons to believe that the rulers of the Convention had chosen him for their model. The horrible system of killing one's enemies instead of subduing them, and of reigning by the aid of terror, is convenient to cowardly and mercenary minds; but men of elevated genius follow other maxims. They know that governments are but indifferent means of government. Henry the Fourth was the most indulgent of sovereigns, and he

himself popular by gaining the affections of every one. Once [ ] gave way to a [ ] and sanguinary policy. It is but too sure [ ] the death of Biron [ ] of no use, either to his [ ] authority, [ ] to the happiness of the following generations.

The [ ] of the Convention necessarily drew to an end. The government they [ ] established [ ] exercised their tyranny [ ] themselves: fear gave birth to despair; thousands of victims [ ] been butchered under the eyes of the Assembly, which remained insensible, and at last sacrificed the government to its [ ] safety. But it did not foresee that general contempt would succeed to terror. In vain did the Convention expel and punish such of [ ] members [ ] bathed themselves in blood—in vain did [ ] recall those who had made themselves respectable [ ] by their courage and humanity. Hatred and indignation assailed it [ ] all sides; and such was the situation, that even when adopting an amended [ ] it [ ] surrounded by the distrust of all honourable men, and the

clamour and threats of ■ populace, whose per-  
■ it had itself completed by ■  
raging outrage. In the month of Prairial, the  
Faubourg St. Antoine besieged ■■■ Assembly, and came to seek for victims in its bosom ; and if the Convention was not forced to submit, it was owing to the heroic resistance of Boissy d'Anglas, whose admirable courage subdued the mob. The Assembly resolved at last on ■ desperate measure, the only one that could succeed : regular troops were ■■■ in, and Pichegru led them to the suburb. The rebels ■■■ disarmed and humbled. This victory, which did not ■■■ a drop of blood, has delivered us for a long while, I hope, from the fury of the rabble.

When I arrived in Paris, these events had already taken place. The Convention was ■■■ that time completing ■ Constitution which was not good, but which ■■■ least gave force and independence to the executive power, while it preserved the representative system. But the nation would accept nothing from that polluted

Assembly ; and, notwithstanding [REDACTED] its exertions, the Constitution was but little approved of. The Convention, not wishing to [REDACTED] the fault committed by the Constituent Assembly, who had abandoned the fruit of their labours to jealous and hostile hands, had passed a law declaring that two-thirds of its members were necessarily [REDACTED] belong [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] councils [REDACTED] tablished by the Constitution. Public opinion, however, was against them all ; [REDACTED] that, when the citizens came together in the primary assemblies, to vote [REDACTED] the Constitution [REDACTED] the Law of the Two-thirds, they were exasperated publicly by orators whom misfortune and resentment had soured, and secretly by crafty royalists. "Must we," they said, "continue to [REDACTED] for several years sitting among our legislators and deciding over [REDACTED] fate, [REDACTED] who have favoured and practised the most horrible tyranny ? We will have nothing [REDACTED] to do with them ; let them [REDACTED] It is sufficient [REDACTED] accept their labour [REDACTED] insure their safety by a generous oblivion

of their crimes." ■■■ violent speeches, repeated with emphasis in all the assemblies, stirred up the spirit of the citizens, who, after having in vain attempted to reject the Constitutional Act and the Law of the Two-thirds, resolved to repel by force of ■■■■■ those whom they had not been able ■■■■■ by their votes. General Menou ■■■ commander-in-chief of the military division. General d'Hilliers made ■■■ acquainted with all the details of his staff. The regular troops at the disposal of Government did not amount to above five thousand men. They ■■■ sufficient to maintain tranquillity, but not to oppose thirty thousand hostile and well-armed national guards. It ■■■ not possible to draw any troops from the armies. The ■■■ was going on actively; the disturbances in the Vendée ■■■■■ not suppressed; and strong forces were required against the robberies of the Chouans. ■■■■■ therefore resolved ■■■ deceive the people in regard to the weakness of ■■■ garrison by multiplying its movements, so ■■■ it continually marched out of one gate

and into the other. This little stratagem was soon discovered: it augmented the assurance of the leaders of the sections, and the day for the attack was fixed. On the evening of the 12th of Vendemiaire, (2nd October,) several battalions of national guards had taken up arms. Those of the Petits Pères and Filles St. Thomas assembled in the Rue Vivienne. General Menou surrounded them with regular troops, and summoned them to disperse. He might have forced them to do so without engaging in a battle; but an orator stepped out of the ranks and began to harangue the General with a warmth which he communicated to his comrades. Menou had the weakness to listen to him, and even to reward him. From that account all was lost; the battalion remained, and the General retired; giving them a proof of his irresolution, and leaving Government in doubt concerning his fidelity. The Convention said that such a man might ruin the cause: the command was taken from him during the night, and given to the deputy,

Barras. A commission of public safety ■■■ also appointed, to whom very extensive powers were given. Barras was ■■■ man of resolution, and had greatly contributed to the fall of Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor. Having been a commissioner of the Convention with the Southern army in 1793, he ■■■ remarked a young officer of artillery, whose courage and advice had ■■■ great influence on the retaking of Toulon. This young man, who, after the 9th of Thermidor, ■■■ been dismissed by ■■■ of his former comrades called Aubry, a member of the Convention, ■■■ ■■■ to Paris ■■■ few months before, where he was soliciting without ■■■ his restoration to his rank of general of brigade. Vexation and disgust had, it was said, made him ■■■ last seek permission to go ■■■ the head of ■■■ troop of cannoniers, to ■■■ among the Turks, to teach them the ■■■ of artillery. ■■■ was ready to ■■■ when ■■■ sent for him, and presented him ■■■ the Committee, who consulted him on the difficulty, which they ■■■ resolved to get

out of at any price. The members of the Committee agreed with one another on [redacted] point only ; that is [redacted] say, that [redacted] lost if the sections gained the victory. Civil [redacted] would then extend its ravages all over France, and nobody could calculate its consequences. On the other hand, they could not bring themselves to fire upon the people. Some wanted to make concessions which would have destroyed all hopes of redress ; others spoke of stoically awaiting death in their chairs like true Romans. The artillery officer laughed both [redacted] their scruples and ridiculous resolution : he demonstrated to them that the Parisians [redacted] nothing but fools, led [redacted] by cunning rogues ; that Government had in its favour power and right ; that nothing [redacted] easier than to disperse, without spilling much blood, inexperienced battalions, which had neither clever leaders [redacted] artillery. His firmness, [redacted] eloquence, his [redacted] sciousness of great superiority, which his coun-[redacted] itself betrayed, inspired confidence and carried persuasion into [redacted] minds of every one.

This young man's name was Bonaparte. The command of the artillery was given to him, and he — left master of all the arrangements for the defence. He immediately assembled the officers, and made himself sure of their obedience. He then placed two — at the entrance of the Rue St. Nicaise, another facing the church of St. Roche at the bottom of the Petite Rue du Dauphin, two more in the Rue St. Honoré, — the Place Vendôme, and two facing the Pont Royal on the Quai Voltaire. Reserves of infantry were stationed behind the cannon, in order to protect them, and — the Place du Carrousel. The cavalry — posted in the Place Louis XV. He afterwards — quainted the battalions that they — — liberty to remain where they — as long as they chose; but that — they went — step beyond the prescribed limits, or if they fired a single musket, he would repel them with his artillery. His firmness, instead of inspiring awe, convinced the enemy that he was afraid, — would — dare to fire. After —

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good ■■■ of hesitation, the enemy's troops put themselves in motion, those who ■■■ behind pushing ■■■ those who were in front, and ■■■ discharge of musketry ■■■ the signal of the attack. At the ■■■ instant, the grape shot of the three field-pieces carried death and ter-■■■ into their ranks. Their flight ■■■ ■■ rapid, so abrupt, and ■■■ complete, ■■■ a bullet shot off along the Rue St. Honoré ■■■ not touch ■■■ single person. General Carteaux had been placed on the Pont Neuf with ■■■ battalion of infantry of the line, in order to cut off the communication between the two banks of the Seine. I ■■■ ■■■ to carry him an order to stand firm; but he had already retired under the garden of the Infante, and the columns of the sections appeared already on the Quai ■■■ la Monnaye, with a view to make themselves ■■■ of the Pont Royal, and attack the Tuili-ries from that side. The general who ■■■ manded ■■■ the foot of the bridge ■■■ them word ■■■ to advance any farther. They took ■■■ heed of it, and received the discharge of the

two cannons, after which they dispersed. That was enough to make the citizens tired of fighting; but the most determined among them, whose fear [redacted] subsided when they imagined the danger distant, wanted to [redacted] the attack. They had made themselves [redacted] of the Palais Royal, and, like madmen, fancied they should be able to defend themselves there. Luckily night brings council: in the morning the leaders put themselves in safety, and the rest went home. Peace was signed next day, and order [redacted] re-established. I do not think that the regular troops lost [redacted] than four or five men. On the part of the sections, the loss [redacted] more considerable. By the most [redacted] calculation, it [redacted] to have amounted to forty killed, and about two hundred wounded. This will not appear exaggerated if we consider that the steps of the church of St. Roch [redacted] covered with people; that the [redacted] fired in that direction [redacted] at no more than sixty paces distant, and that the [redacted] of the Rue St. Honoré filled the whole [redacted] to a great depth.

The command of the Parisian army [REDACTED] trusted to General Danican, [REDACTED] almost unknown, [REDACTED] in the ranks, where he had served for some time, and whom the restoration did [REDACTED] bring into distinction.

Government felt that a too [REDACTED] inquiry on [REDACTED] would only contribute to exasperate the minds of the public, and that they ought [REDACTED] enjoy with moderation [REDACTED] victory which had been bought at the price of so much blood. A court martial was nevertheless instituted, with [REDACTED] view to frighten the leaders; but they [REDACTED] all acquitted, with the exception of [REDACTED] unfortunate emigrant, named Lafont, who had got secretly into Paris in order to intrigue in favour of his employers, and who had made himself conspicuous by a very violent behaviour. He was sentenced to death; but [REDACTED] he would have been saved, if his intense devotion to the cause of the Bourbons [REDACTED] not made him reject [REDACTED] the means he might have used [REDACTED] avoid his condemnation.

The royalists have pretended of late years,

that this insurrection of the Parisians was ■ generous effort attempted in favour of the Bourbons. I declare that this is not the fact. I ■■■ placed in the most favourable position for observing the passions and intrigues which brought about the unfortunate catastrophe of the 13th of Vendemiaire. I ■■■ acquainted with several honourable ■■■ who had taken part with the sections, and I saw neither in the people, ■■■ in their leaders, any wish for the return of the Bourbons, much less ■ plan for recalling them. The death of the King ■■■ deplored by all sensible men ; but liberty was beloved. Hatred of the Convention was carried to the highest pitch, on account of the horrors with which that assembly had visited the country. I questioned the most violent as to what they wished to establish in the place of the expiring government. Their ■■■ was, " We will have nothing ■■■ to do with them. It is the Republic we wish for, with honest ■■■ to govern us." No ■■■ went farther than this. It ■■■ true, that some insinua-

tions were made in the sections, in favour of the Royal Family ; but so feeble, — ambiguous, — very little attention — paid to them. No — thought of pronouncing the name of that family. I have no doubt, that if the sections had triumphed, the attempt would have been more direct and more bold ; perhaps — it would have succeeded, but then civil — would have broken out on all sides. And if, eighteen years after, with the aid of all Europe, the Bourbons were unable to maintain themselves on the throne, what would have been their fate at a period when France, not yet accustomed to the yoke, — animated by republican habits and ideas, and uncurbed energy ?

Two days after the 18th of Vendemiaire, Barras introduced to the Convention all the generals and officers of the — who had contributed to — that Assembly. General Bonaparte — there, but he mingled with the crowd. When Barras, in his speech, pronounced — with compliment, those who

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surrounded him wanted ■ make him advance to the first rank. He pushed them aside with ■ look of ill-humour and diffidence which pleased me. There ■ in his actions less of pride than ■ delicate feeling of propriety. He ■ ashamed to be praised for such ■ victory. Besides, it is certain he felt no great esteem for those in whose favour he had fought, and who ■ thus lavishing their applause on him.

## CHAPTER X.

■■■ Directory.—General Bonaparte marries the widow ■■■ General Alexander Beauharnais.—He ■■■ ■■■ for Italy.— Pacification of the Vendée.—General ■■■■■ receives ■■■ order for service in Italy, whither I follow him.

THE Convention hastened to put ■■■ end to its stormy session, so fatal to humanity, but still ■■■ memorable from the incredible vigour with which it saved France from a foreign yoke. The ruins of government ■■■■■ delivered into ■■■ hands of the Directory. General Bonaparte was made commander-in-chief of the ■■■■■ military division, ■■■ of ■■■ city of Paris. One of ■■■ first measures that were taken by the new government was, ■■■ disarming ■■■ all the citizens of ■■■ metropolis. They delivered up their arms without much regret: the trial they

had just made of their strength was not of a nature to inspire them with great confidence in themselves. This measure was executed with great rigour. Swords and sabres were comprehended in the general confiscation. The widow of General Beauharnais was going to deliver up to one of the commissioners entrusted with these orders the sabre of her late husband, when her son Eugene, then scarcely thirteen years old, seized the weapon, and declared that they who wished to have it must first take his life. The commissioner consented to leave it him, provided he got a permission from the general-in-chief. Eugene flew to his house: the deep emotion the child evinced, his name, his interesting appearance, the ardour and simplicity with which he expressed his wishes, touched the general. He embraced him, allowed him to keep the dearly-beloved sword, and visited Mme de Beauharnais. She was young, amiable, and more than pretty. He was in love with her, and soon after married her; so that their union, which was so long a happy.

had its origin in an amiable trait of filial piety.

When General Beauharnais left the army of the Rhine, he retired to one of his estates, situated a few leagues from Blois. There he lived in profound retirement, lamenting the deplorable outrages that disgraced liberty, and bitterly regretting the glory he could no longer share. But his having been too celebrated for him to entertain a reasonable hope of escaping the persecutions to which the members of the Constituent Assembly exposed. He was arrested, and thrown into the prisons of Paris, shortly before the 9th of Thermidor, and at a time when the people were at last returning to right feeling, and beginning to shudder at the sight of the blood with which they had long feasted their eyes. The Jacobins invented the prison conspiracies, as a pretence for prolonging their reign. They had mixed with the prisoners some spies, who found men vile enough to purchase their lives by atrocious calumny. One of these wretches,

enraged at having been discovered by M. de Beauharnais in the midst of his infamous intrigues, and at hearing him speak openly of the fact with ■■■ the honourable pride of an upright man, denounced him. He ■■■ sent ■■■ the scaffold, and suffered on the 7th of Thermidor, two days before the fall of Robespierre.

Madame de Beauharnais ■■■ been locked up, during eighteen months, in ■■■ of the prisons of Paris, where she had fallen seriously ill, when her indictment, which ■■■ no better than a sentence of death, was transmitted to her. Fortunately a Polish physician, an honest and courageous man, whose ■■■ I am sorry I do not know, attended her. He declared that she would not survive eight days longer, and by that ■■■ saved her life. When she got out of prison; she exerted with resolute benevolence all the advantages which her name, her misfortune, and the gifts of her amiable mind, conferred ■■■ her, to obtain the liberty of the greatest part of her former companions in captivity. ■■■ ■■■ beloved and esteemed by the

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■■■ respectable members of society. The excellent qualities of her heart made her fully worthy of her exalted station. I shall more than once recur with pleasure to her in the ■■■ of these memoirs.

The functions of commander-in-chief of the city of Paris gave considerable influence ■ General Bonaparte, and his conduct ■ the 18th Vendemiaire ensured him a just title ■ the confidence of the Directory ; but Government soon felt itself troubled and ■■■ humbled by the authority of the young General. To say the truth, he continually acted after ■■■ own way, meddled with every thing, decided on every thing, and ■■■ acted but upon ■■■ own ideas. The activity and extent of his mind, and the pride of his nature, rendered him unable ■■■ obey in any circumstances. The Directory wished still to spare the Jacobins ; the General locked up their assembly-room, ■■■ Govern-■■■ learnt the step ■■■ had taken just when they were going to ■■■ upon it. Some members of the old nobility seemed dangerous

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in Paris. The Directory resolved ■ send ■■■ away; ■■■ General extended to them ■■■ protection, and Government ■■■ forced ■ yield. He prescribed measures, recalled disgraced generals, repelled with pride all prepossession, wounded the vanity of every body, laughed ■■■ prejudices, braved hatred, and condemned the slow and embarrassed pace of Government. If the Directory happened to remonstrate with him, instead of appearing offended, he developed his ideas ■■■ plans with so much clearness, care, and eloquence, that no objection ■■■ possible, and two hours afterwards all he proposed was executed. But if the Directory ■■■ tired of Bonaparte, the General ■■■ ■■■ less ■■■ of Paris life, which afforded no career to ■■■ ambition, ■■■ field for his genius. He had, ■ long time before, formed a plan for the conquest of Italy. Long ■ vice in the Army of Nice had procured him the necessary leisure to mature his designs, ■■■ calculate ■■■ their difficulties, and guess all their chances. ■■■ ■■■ of Government

the command of that army with money and troops. He was made general-in-chief: he got troops, but only the ■■■■■ of one hundred thousand ■■■■■. With those scanty means he ■■■ to conquer Italy ■■ the ■■■ of troops who had received no pay for the last six months, and who ■■■ not ■■■ shoes to their feet. But Bonaparte felt the consciousness of his strength; and, looking forward with delight to the future, he took leave of the Directory, who ■■■ his departure with secret pleasure, happy to be rid of a man whose character awed them, and whose projects were, in the eyes of the majority of its members, nothing ■■■ than the wild fancies of a youth full of pride and presumption.

General d'Hilliers ■■■ been dismissed on the day after the 18th Vendemiaire, for having expressed himself in strong terms against that expedition. He went to General Bonaparte, who procured him a fresh appointment, and he was sent as chief of the staff to the right division of the Western army, whose head-quarters

■ ■ Alençon. The war in the Vendée ■ ■ brought ■ ■ end through fatigue and ■ ■ of food. The consequences of the ■ ■ of the Loire ■ ■ been too fatal to the Vendéans, to leave them in a situation to prolong the contest. Their most able leaders ■ ■ killed. The grand-children of Henry IV. ■ ■ disdained to appear among those gallant soldiers, who fought without regimentals, without order, and whose appearance had not the ■ ■ times useless brilliancy of regular troops. Charette, the only ■ ■ who still might have supported his part, had been shot at Nantz by order of Government, who would have acted ■ ■ honourably in granting him his pardon ; and the unfortunate attempt ■ Quiberon had struck the last blow to the enthusiasm and hopes of the ■ ■ bels. Scattered bands, acting without any decided aim, still ravaged ■ ■ parts of the country. General Hoche, to whom the command of the western departments was entrusted, succeeded in ■ short time, by his wisdom, moderation, and resolution, in destroying the last remains of civil

war. He [REDACTED] a system of moveable columns, whose motions [REDACTED] calculated with so much precision, that while they were continually crossing [REDACTED] country in all directions, they frequently met and [REDACTED] enabled to support [REDACTED] another [REDACTED] they should be attacked by superior forces. The enemy, thus chased, unable to enjoy one moment's rest [REDACTED] safety, got discouraged, and at last preferred to exertions without aim, [REDACTED] peace which ensured him the free exercise of those religious duties for which he had taken up arms, and the hope of better times. In Normandy, where I was, [REDACTED] raging without glory, but not without peril. The Chouans, secured against surprise behind their high hedges, aimed close upon [REDACTED] and cost [REDACTED] a great number of [REDACTED]. When they wanted to replenish their military chest, they stopped the stage-coaches, stripped the travellers, and frequently killed them. These gentlemen fancied [REDACTED] their title of royalists ennobled [REDACTED] their profession of robbers. A little [REDACTED] before our arrival, a general and well-

directed bush-beating [■] taken place against them, and [■] disgusted them [■] a profession which left them [■] other prospect than [■] punishment due to highway robbers. Count Frotté, who commanded those noble troops, gave [■] companions leave to make their peace, and went [■] [■] England, after having, as it was reported, broken his sword. The principal leaders then wrote to General Montigny, who commanded the division, to solicit an interview, which took place [■] the castle of Louvet, [■] Alençon. I [■] to [■] these gentle- [■] into a wood [■] the castle. I was conduct- ed there blindfolded; and after a quarter of an hour's walk, I found in a thicket a dozen tattered wretches lying on the grass, exhausted with fatigue and want. Some of them were remarkable for a haughty expression of coun- tenance, which they did not belie during the conference. Their submission [■] unreserved. Several among them were obliged to leave the [■] of their achievements, others joined [■] armies of [■] Republic. When [■] treaty was

signed, ■■■ stepped into ■ room, where ■ splendid breakfast ■■■ prepared. There ■ twenty of ■ standing round the table and looking ■■■ another in silence. General Montigny invited them to sit down. An unequivocal motion of the head ■■■ all the ■■■ they gave. Cold ceremonies ■■■ exchanged ; after which, ■■■ all mounted ■■■ horses and separated.

One of the conditions of the treaty was, that the leaders of the troops should recover the unsold part of their property, ■■■ those of the Vendean army had already done. This favour ■■■ justly due, not only to their valour and ■■■ tions, but also to their patriotic sentiments, which had made them prefer the dangers of civil war to the disgrace of serving under foreign banners. Now that the emigrants ■■■ happy in the enjoyment of the rank and ■■■ fidence the Sovereign allows them, ■■■ may speak freely ■■■ their conduct. The first impulse which urged them to fly cannot be ■■■ blamed ; but how ■■■ one justify the disgrace-

ful resolution of placing themselves in the pay of the enemies of their country? The Revolution — a family quarrel, from which foreign nations ought by — to have been excluded. What was to be expected of the Austrians, the Prussians, — the English, but the subjection of France, her dismemberment, and disgrace? The Vendean also fought to maintain their religion and the monarchy; but, far from giving themselves up to a foreign enemy, they never would suffer English troops to — to their support. They had not forgotten that Henry IV. — obliged to take German troopers into his pay; but that his magnanimous soul would have recoiled — the thought of receiving pay of the Germans. The cause of the Vendean, thus defended, — respectable. They certainly could not hope to get the better of the determined will of a whole nation resolved to be free, and who could not be — under the government of the Bourbons; but — least they were Frenchmen, and the troops who fought against them experienced a

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feeling of pride ■ the sight of French peasants opposing ■ with more courage and firmness than all the kings of Europe united together.

This was against the Chouans was not more pleasing to General ■■■■■ than to myself. He did not wait for the pacification to solicit of General Bonaparte the honour of serving under his orders. The letters of appointment were arrived. M. d'Hilliers was off post for Italy. I was obliged to travel on horseback. The name of Bonaparte greeted my ears in every place through which I passed. Each day brought the account of some new victory. His letters to Government,—his proclamations, were elevated in style, and were wonderfully eloquent, roused all minds. All France shared the enthusiasm of the army for much glory,—for such brilliant and numerous triumphs. The words Montenotte, Millesimo, Lodi, Milan, Castiglione were repeated with a noble pride with those of Jemmapes, Fleurus, and Valmy.

## CHAPTER XI.

My arrival in Milan.—I was appointed Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief.—The army marches on Vienna.—Battles of Rivedi, La Corona, &c.

WHEN I arrived at [REDACTED] the victory of Castiglione had just been gained. General Wurmser, beaten, was flying in the direction of Mantua; and after having come to force me to raise the siege of that city, he was himself obliged to seek a refuge within its walls. I was convinced that General d' Hilliers was to be employed in military service, and during the journey I indulged in glittering dreams of glory and advancement. How great was now my consternation when I found him governor of Lombardy! I was going to be invited again in the [REDACTED] business of a staff, sentenced to [REDACTED]

the bulletins of our victories,—to be busy about the thousand minutiae of an office, so tiresome to a soldier,—and at last not ■■■ dare to acknowledge that I had been in the Army of Italy, of which I should share neither the perils ■■■ the triumphs. Besides, my sword ■■■ my only fortune, and could ■ hope for advancement when I had not deserved any? These thoughts grieved me sorely, and made ■■■ adopt the resolution of soliciting the command of a troop of infantry in a brigade of the vanguard. General d' Hilliers attempted in vain to make me alter my mind. Forced at last to yield to my entreaties, he ■■■ about to give me my orders, when the intelligence of the victory of Arcola arrived at Milan. Two aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief had been killed,—Muiron, ■■■ officer of artillery, for whom he entertained a great regard, of which ■■■ good qualities made him worthy,—and young Elliott, ■■■ nephew of General Clarke. ■■■ ■■■ spoke of ■■■ General Bonaparte with great warmth, ■■■ got ■■■ appointed ■■■ succeed Muiron. My

first sensation — joy — this unexpected favour of fortune, but it was — troubled by the fear of being severely judged by — so well able to — my merits. My uneasiness — such — to make me regret the — General d'Hilliers had obtained. I went to the General-in-chief, who lodged in the Palazzo Serbelloni. He — giving audience. — saloon — filled with military men of all ranks, and high civil officers. His air was affable, but his look — firm and fixed, that I turned pale when he addressed himself to — I faltered out my —, and afterwards my thanks, to which he listened in silence, his eyes fastening on — with an expression of severity that quite disconcerted me. At last he said, "Come back at six o'clock, and put — the sash." That sash, which distinguished the aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief, was of white — red silk, and — worn round the — arm.

When I went back to the palace — the appointed hour, the — duty introduced me into — saloon of the aides-de-camp. This

was ■■■■■ subject of perplexity. I ■■■■■ not acquainted with any of them. They could see by my ■■■■■ that I ■■■■■ a ■■■■■ comrade, but not ■■■■■ came up to me. They communicated their observations to one another, directing towards my person looks that ■■■■■ not ■■■■■ to me very favourable, until Marmont came in, ■■■■■ perceiving me, took ■■■■■ by the hand, and said, "Here is a new comrade, who will ■■■■■ be ■■■■■ friend."—"In the field of battle," I ■■■■■ swered with a blush, "I shall be less embarrassed than I ■■■■■ here." A few days were sufficient to establish between us a degree of friendship that has never diminished. The aides-de-camp of the general-in-chief ■■■■■ at that time eight in number. Murat, who had been named general of brigade, ■■■■■ no longer ■■■■■ of them. The first was Colonel Junot, afterwards Duc d' Abrantes. He was born in Burgundy, and enlisted as ■■■■■ private soldier in ■■■■■ company of volunteer cannoniers of ■■■■■ department. At the siege of Toulon, he was admired for ■■■■■ instance of intrepidity that has seldom

occurred since. The famous redoubt, called *Les culottes*, defended by the English, had been attacked for several hours, but its fire was still very troublesome to us. General Bonaparte ordered a battalion to take it by storm. Although Junot did not belong to that battalion, he rushed first of all into the ditch, climbed up the scarp, jumped into the redoubt through a battlement, killed two cannoniers at their posts, and by that means gave his companions time to join him. The redoubt was taken amidst cries of "The Republic for ever!" General Bonaparte made him serjeant; and his handwriting being clear and neat, he made us of him as our secretary during the remainder of the campaign. When I met him for the first time, he was a colonel, and had been wounded at the battle of Castiglione. Junot added to great courage much natural shrewdness. After having served during twenty years, and passed through all military ranks, he ended his life in a deplorable manner. The cold he suffered in the Russian campaign disordered his mental

faculties. The unhappy man died under his paternal roof. His ■■■ returned a short time before ■■■ breathed his last, and seeing himself again in the humble chamber in which he had passed ■■■ youth, he ■■■ enabled justly to appreciate his glittering dream of fortune and glory.

Marmont, ■ colonel of artillery, ■■■ also born in Burgundy, of an ancient and respectable family in that province. ■■■ education had been particularly well attended to, and he had ■■■ tered very young into the army. The principal features of his character were ■■■ that time an unbounded passion for glory and ambition, and an attachment to his general that amounted to enthusiasm.—Duroc was the third aide-de-camp. Though less brilliant than the two former, he possessed greater solidity of judgment, and ■■■ remarkable tenaciousness of character. In 1789 he was an officer of artillery: he had emigrated, but had speedily returned to France. The General-in-chief ■■■ much attached to him. Duroc ■■■ grateful, and I believe ■■■ fidelity would

have nobly borne the dangerous ordeal of the revolution of 1814.—The fourth aide-de-camp — Le Marrois, a young — scarcely — teen years old, and already covered with wounds.—After him came Sulkowski, a true Pole, of chivalrous valour, passionately fond of adventures, with a romantic and restless mind, well informed, and speaking fluently all the languages of Europe. When almost a child, he had fought for the liberty of his country. Wounded — the siege of Warsaw, and — pelled to fly, he came to France. He — soon after sent to Constantinople with M. Descorches, our ambassador. The Committee of Public Safety, wishing to have an agent in India, Sulkowski undertook that mission. He had already passed Aleppo, where the English discovered him, and got — Arabs to rob him of his papers. Having escaped out of their hands, he returned to Paris, and obtained an appointment in the Army of Italy. — was engaged — the siege of Mantua, when a report that he had — to the — of the

I fell under the eyes of the general-in-chief, and the following day he made his aide-de-camp.—We had also among us Louis Bonaparte, then scarcely sixteen years of age, and whom his brother spared more than the rest of us in the most perilous missions. Louis fulfilled them with satisfaction which proved him worthy of his name.—Elliott having been killed, as I mentioned above, the General-in-chief took in his place Crossier, a brave and clever officer of cavalry.

Such were my new comrades, whose acquaintance I made while waiting for the General-in-chief. He arrived at seven o'clock, and sat down to dinner. He placed me next to himself. All the guests were as much surprised as I was at this extraordinary favour; but I did not remain long in suspense as to the reason which it was owing. The General wished to know what he had to expect of the acquaintance he had rather rashly made. His questions began with the very first course, and continued till we rose from table; that is to say, during three-quarters of an hour. “Where

have you served? In what army? At what time did you enter ■■■ service? Under what generals have you fought? What ■■■ the strength of ■■■ Rhine army? What position ■■■ it occupy before Mentz? Why did they not go to the assistance of that city? How ■■■ the lines of the Lauter lost? How ■■■ Landau delivered? What generals had the highest reputation in the Rhine army? What ■■■ the forces of the enemy on the 18th of October, and when the lines ■■■ retaken?" He listened attentively ■■■ all my answers, and shortened them when they ■■■ too diffuse. I perceived, by his pithy observations, that he ■■■ perfectly well acquainted with the history of the Rhine army. The distance and position of the different places, the abilities of the generals, their systems and faults,—all ■■■ familiar to him. When dinner ■■■ over he ceased to speak to me. I was afraid he was ■■■ with my ■■■ I was comforted, however, by the thought that the ordeal of the field of battle would ■■■ favourable to ■■■

We remained a fortnight ■■■ Milan, waiting

the enemy to come more down from Tyrol, make a fresh attempt on Milan. The General-in-chief was at that time just married. Madame Bonaparte ■■■ charming woman ; and all the anxiety of the command,—all the trouble of the government of Italy, could not prevent her husband from giving himself wholly up ■ the happiness he enjoyed ■ home. It was during that short residence ■ Milan that the young painter Gros, afterwards so celebrated, painted ■ picture of the General. He represented him on ■■ bridge of Lodi, ■ the moment when, with the colours in his hand, he rushed forward, to induce the troops ■ follow him. The painter could never obtain ■ long sitting. Madame Bonaparte used to take her husband upon her lap after breakfast, and hold him fast for ■ few minutes. I ■■■ present at three of these sittings. The age of the newly married couple, and the painter's enthusiasm for the hero, ■■■ sufficient excuses for such familiarity. The portrait ■■■ ■ the time ■ striking resemblance. Some copies have

been ~~about~~ of it; but the original is in the possession of the Queen of Holland, Duchess of St. Leu.

We were off for Verona. The day after our arrival I received an order to reconnoitre the enemy posted on the banks of the Adige, facing Roveredo. My instructions were to force him to make some demonstrations, but not to come to an action. I was to bring back an exact account of all the points the enemy occupied in the valley, with particulars, which, by the by, the General was very fond of, — the respective positions of the two vanguards. Some troops were put at my disposal, and I learned some days after, that a secret order had been given to one of the generals of the vanguard, to follow me in all my movements, and rectify my blunders. This commission was not very important. The manner in which I acquitted myself of it was not very bad; and the General bestowed no praises either on my behaviour or on my report, at least I received no reproaches.

MEMOIRS OF

The enemy soon returned in force. General Bonaparte had foreseen on which [redacted] he was to be attacked, the chief aim of the Austrians being naturally the deliverance of Mantua. He had in consequence placed the mass of his army along the Adige, [redacted] Rivoli and La Corona. He knew that the Archduke Charles [redacted] intent on taking Kehl, and that that small fortress, less formidable still by the strength of its walls, than by the determination of General Desaix, who defended it, would cost the Prince [redacted] great many [redacted] and much time. The diversion the enemy made on Porto Legnago and St. George [redacted] of no use; they [redacted] beaten [redacted] Rivoli by the division of Messina, under the command of General Bonaparte. The consequences of this battle [redacted] beyond all calculation for the Army of Italy. Tyrol [redacted] open to us; Mantua surrendered, and the General-in-chief found time to explain himself with [redacted] Pope [redacted] Tolentino. A short time before the [redacted] of Rivoli, General Brune [redacted] arrived [redacted] the army. He [redacted] by the Directory. [redacted]

experienced such a flattering reception as surprised us. His name was utterly unknown. Report stated that he had come to make his first campaign, and we were curious to judge in how far he would deserve the distinction General Bonaparte had shown him, who was not often prodigal of his praises, and who knew so perfectly well how to appreciate real merit: however, General Brune justified them. I was not at Rivoli, having been sent to St. George; but I learned the next day, through Sulkowski, that Brune had fought with La Corona with great skill and singular valour. He had acquired an extraordinary reputation as a republican. In 1791, when the expiring monarchy was struggling against an enemy who crushed it in the end, Brune was one of the leaders of the club of the Cordeliers, and led the riot of the Champ de Mars, which the mayor, Bailly, dispersed by proclaiming martial law. He was imprisoned, and a report was spread that his Court had attempted to get rid of him by odious means. At the beginning of the war, Brune

employed ■ some obscure posts ; but afterwards, whether the Directory was afraid of ■ man of such unusual spirit, ■ whether he ■ himself that his courage would be better employed in the army, he obtained leave ■ serve in Italy. General Bonaparte, foreseeing that he should one day have great contests with the Jacobin party, resigned to General Brune ■ part of the honour of the victory of Rivoli, and made him a general of division. Some years after, he was appointed commander-in-chief of that same army, of which he had been ■ of the least distinguished generals. These distinctions were owing either to some talents he really possessed, or to General Bonaparte's wish of attaching to his person ■ of the leaders of ■ party, among which several men of merit ■ to be found. The pursuit of the enemy and the conquest of Tyrol ■ entrusted to General Joubert, ■ young man, who had begun ■ military ■ in the Army of the Pyrenees, ■ whom the General-in-chief ■ in ■ short time from the rank

of colonel to that of general of division. [REDACTED] merit [REDACTED] so conspicuous, that his comrades, though older than he, [REDACTED] not complain of a preference he deserved by his courage, talents, and prudence, which Massena himself openly acknowledged. I [REDACTED] ordered to accompany Joubert to Trente, of which he made himself master five days after he [REDACTED] begun the attack.

While the Austrians were making [REDACTED] unlucky an effort to deliver Mantua and drive the French out of Italy, the Pope, excited by them, and discontented with the loss of the three Legations, hastily raised some troops and resolved to take a part in the formidable contest. The time when the pontiffs used to influence [REDACTED] powerfully the doctrines of Italy was long past: Pius the Sixth, a stately pontiff, possessed [REDACTED] of the dangerous qualities of Julius the Second. The General-in-chief marched against him with [REDACTED] single division. His aide-de-camp, Junot, was ordered to oppose [REDACTED] enemy. He fell in with him [REDACTED] Faenza. A few [REDACTED] shots were exchanged; but all

the troops he found [REDACTED] down their [REDACTED] with so much docility, that the Pope sent in haste three cardinals to sign [REDACTED] treaty, which caused him long to repent his imprudent attack.

By this treaty the cession of the three Legations [REDACTED] confirmed, while the Pope [REDACTED] obliged to pay fifteen millions for his perilous enterprise, and deliver up the most precious master-pieces of antiquity which adorned his capital and provinces. This episode of the [REDACTED] was very short. The Archduke Charles, having [REDACTED] last made himself master of Kehl, [REDACTED] marching to [REDACTED] in great haste to help General \* [REDACTED] to deliver Mantua and the Holy Father. He arrived too late : the town had opened its gates, and the Pope delivered up his treasures. A certain number of emigrants [REDACTED] found in the fortress. The laws that had been passed against them [REDACTED] from being repealed ; the General-in-chief nevertheless ordered General Serurier [REDACTED] let them pass unmolested. I [REDACTED] not know whether they showed themselves grateful for that [REDACTED] of generosity.

The General-in-chief, foreseeing that his ■■■ campaign would require great exertions, applied to Government for ■ fresh supply of troops. He could not continue fighting in exhausted Lombardy ; but having his line of operations strongly supported ■ Mantua, he wanted to ■ in his turn to seek the enemy, and, uniting ■ operations with those of the armies of the Rhine, disgust the republicans of a war which had no longer ■ reasonable aim, and ■ kept alive by malicious passions. In France, every body ■ desirous of serving under General Bonaparte. Bernadotte obtained the preference, and his army arrived ■ the banks of the Piave, the day before the passage of that river. I was ordered to go and compliment him, and to seek a ford where he might pass ■ river. The most elegant politeness of manner distinguished the General and his staff ; they appeared delighted at forming a part of ■ army, and especially ■ serving under the ■■■ command of the hero of Italy. The interview took place next day, and it ■ marked by a

degree of cordiality ■ candour, which produced ■ good impression among the troops pre-  
■ the ■

The first attacks of the French army ■  
■ with so much impetuosity, that the ■  
my ■ himself unable to resist, and compelled  
■ choose another ground. He retired to the  
Tagliamonte, the passage of which he resolv-  
ed ■ last to defend. General Bonaparte settled  
every thing ■ that the honour of the day might  
belong ■ Bernadotte : a corps of six thousand  
grenadiers ■ placed under his orders, and he  
received the command of the centre, where the  
enemy had the strongest forces to oppose to  
■. Bernadotte passed the ■ branches  
of the rivers, ■ the head of his soldiers, crying,  
“The Republic for ever!” and under the most  
murderous fire ; but Massena, who commanded  
the left wing, had attacked with ■ much vi-  
gour, that the enemy before ■ only fought to  
get ■ the end of the day, and not to ■ too  
much harassed in their retreat.

The result of this ■ made the General-

in-chief sensible that the Archduke retreated  
■ await him beyond the plains of Styria, ■  
that the ■ ■ might approach ■ Vienna,  
the ■ equal the forces and the ■ stubborn  
the defence would become. Bonaparte  
resolved therefore to recall the division of Jou-  
bert that ■ at Brixen. He left, it is true,  
Lombardy open to the enemy, who would not  
■ to attack it; but he ■ very ■ that if  
■ the Austrians ■ vanquished and forced  
to make peace, it would not prove very difficult  
for him to ■ his conquests and re-establish  
order everywhere.

## CHAPTER XII.

**My mission to Tyrol.—Its dangers.—Preliminaries ■ Leoben.—**  
—Venice ■ ■ ■ Austria.—Riot ■ Genoa.—Murder  
of ■ Frenchman.—General Bonaparte ■ ■ ■ ■ ■  
satisfaction.

With two companies of grenadiers of the 69th, and [REDACTED] cavalry, I was sent to fetch General Joubert. General Zayonjeck, a Pole, newly arrived in the army, received an order to support me with some squadrons of dragoons. I arrived at Lienz without any impediment; but there I got certain information that I could not, without losing all my men to the very last, penetrate to the place where our first troops stood under [REDACTED] command of General [REDACTED]. I wished however to carry my undertaking into execution, and what I could not do with my soldiers I resolved to

attempt alone. I therefore left my troop at Lienz under the command of a good captain, taking with me a lieutenant named Acy-orte, a brave and resolute man, I threw myself with him into a caléche, both of us well wrapped up in our cloaks, hoping we might be able to pass that part of Tyrol in the character of Italian merchants. We advanced, in fact, three stages without meeting with any obstacle. We had already reached the first houses of Mühlbach at nightfall, when our carriage was stopped by the clergyman of the place, who said to me in Latin : " Do not wait; fly to the mountains, or you will be lost. You are expected, and nobody will be able to help you." Since I had left college, I had entirely neglected the Latin language. I scarcely understood it, and I was making the clergyman repeat his speech, when his sudden flight, with his furious cries, warned me that we had but a moment to lose. In an instant we jumped out of the carriage and ran to the hills. We hid ourselves in a ditch: when up to our necks

in the ■■■ we heard the Tyrolians pass and fire their muskets. The pursuit ■■■ long, and ■■■ without uneasiness to ■■■ At last ■■■ ventured to change ■■■ position. We penetrated farther into the mountains, ■■■ the garret of ■■■ hovel ■■■ our retreat for the remainder of the night. At daybreak ■■■ ■■■ obliged to adopt ■■■ resolution. To advance ■■■ im-possible: we decided therefore to return ■■■ foot to Lienz, avoiding the inhabited places. We succeeded for some leagues; but after having in vain attempted to turn a village, ■■■ ■■■ forced to pass through it. The pea-sants ■■■ at church, the doors of which were open. Some old women called after us, and a dozen of the most alert among the men soon reached ■■■ We ■■■ forced to yield to num-bers. We ■■■ not know German enough to make ourselves understood by people who be-sides spoke that language very ill, and they resolved to lead us back to Mühlbach. The whole population of the town and environs were assembled together. We were introduced

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into the town-hall, situated in the great square. The people were highly excited, and I could see by the fear depicted on the faces of the municipal officers, that the situation was becoming dangerous. Several of those brutes were dragging me along, when, after having suddenly disengaged myself from their hands, I peremptorily insisted on being heard. But then again the difficulty of making myself understood. I sat down, took up a pen and wrote in Italian, that I was an aide-de-camp of the General-in-chief Bonaparte; that I was carrying to General Joubert the news that a truce had been signed with the Archduke Charles; that they were at liberty to murder us,—but in that case, my mission not being executed, hostilities would continue in Tyrol, and my death be revenged on the inhabitants. This account being proclaimed from the top of the balcony, and repeated among the crowd, succeeded in calming them. I then asked leave to continue my journey, but the cries began anew. The only permission I obtained was

return to Lienz. We were escorted there by a gentleman and a clergyman respected by the peasants. On our arrival I gave them a written acknowledgment of their generous conduct, and hope some day to be able to record their names, and recommend them to the consideration of all friends of humanity.

I had scarcely arrived at Lienz, when I learned that I was about to be attacked by the Tyroleans who had assembled in the mountains. The inhabitants of the place were not very peaceably disposed; but I hoped to pacify them by my firmness. I could not entertain the intention of engaging in a useless action. I wished, however, to carry along with me about fifty wounded Frenchmen whom I found in the hospital, and whom the Austrians had abandoned in their retreat. While I was taking the necessary measures for their transfer, I was informed that most of the posts placed at the entrance of the town had been killed by the Tyroleans, who were advancing against us. I turned to the inn to get a horseback; but,

just as I was coming out of the door, a dozen of these rebels, placed in ambush at thirty steps distance, fired and killed my horse, also those my servant was holding by the bridle, and gave me a severe bruise in the belly. I had just time to extricate myself and rejoin the troops. To attempt resistance in the interior of the town would have been madness: amidst a shower of bullets, shot from the windows. The Tyroleans were waiting for us at the gate. We were obliged to repulse them with the bayonet, and continued fighting till we arrived at Spital, several leagues off. There I found General Zayonjeck, who had succeeded in getting forward, and was coming to join me. This affair cost us five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and three distinguished officers. This loss grieved us sorely, and though I had done all that prudence required, I was nevertheless anxious to know what impression it would make on the General-in-chief. My report preceded me: I was well received, though blamed me for having

tured alone, and without the hope of being assisted. The order I had been the bearer of, had also been entrusted to an officer who went from Trente, and who ■■■ more fortu-■■■ than I. General Joubert hastened to join the General-in-chief with his whole army corps; but the truce was already signed.

After the victory of Neumarck, General Bonaparte had written to the Archduke ■ propose peace. The Cabinet of Vienna, tired of the long and unfortunate contest, and fearing that the loss of ■ battle might bring the enemy to the gates of their metropolis, eagerly seized the only ■■■ of stopping the French in their victorious ■■■. The truce ■■■ signed ■■■ Judenburg ■■■ the 7th, and the preliminaries ■■■ Leoben on the 18th of April, by Messrs. de Gullo and Meerfield ■■■ the part of the Aus- trians, and General Bonaparte and M. Clarke ■■■ the part of the French.

The close of hostilities and the expectation of a speedy and lasting peace ■■■ hailed by the belligerent nations with the greater enthu-

siasm, because during the latter years the war had no longer for its object either the safety of the people, — the dignity of the — reign. The government of the French Republic was acknowledged by a part of Europe, and the conquest of the Austrian states — — — — — morated by twenty victories. However great might be the talents the Archduke Charles had displayed in his German campaigns, the Emperor could not expect to be able to beat the Army of Italy with troops discouraged by — many defeats, and by a system of retreat in which they only saw a proof of their inferiority, without guessing — the real plan of their leader, which — to draw his adversary out of Italy, from whence he got all his supplies.

The march of Bonaparte through the hereditary states, where he seemed obstinately pursuing ■■■■■ enemy continually retiring before him, ■■■■■ strongly criticised ■■■■■ that time when the lustre of his glory ■■■■■ surrounded him with envy. ■■■■■ has ■■■■■ said, ■■■■■ the Arch-

duke Charles had refused a truce, Bonaparte would have been obliged to follow him to the banks of the Danube, where the chances of success would have been in favour of the Austrians; that a first check in that position would have been the certain prelude of a defeat, after which he would have had means of retreating and avoiding total ruin. No one doubted but Italy would have been lost, General Lauden having penetrated into Lombardy through Tyrol, while the insurrection of the Venetian army had spread disorder among his troops, and consternation among all the friends of France. If all those assertions had been founded in truth, it would be acknowledged that Bonaparte had only wanted prudence in his campaign, but also that, by a degree of vanity contrary to all common sense, he resolved to expose to the most perilous chances his army, his glory, and Italy, to satisfy the frivolous ambition of quishing Prince Charles, and making himself master of the metropolis of the Austrian empire.

pire.—But it was not so. In the first place, the necessity of repulsing the Archduke was urgent, the Prince having been obliged to seek Bonaparte on the banks of the Piava. In pursuing him beyond the Julian Alps, the French general took all the precautions that the nature of war and the most extreme prudence required. The left of his army had made itself master of the valleys of the Adige and the Drave, in those parts of Tyrol of which it was necessary that he should have possession in order to secure his operations. When he saw that by the retreat of the Archduke he should be obliged, if he wished to pursue him, to penetrate into the interior of Styria, he recalled General Joubert, and reinforced his army by twenty-two thousand men. This augmentation of his troops gave him a superiority in numbers which the Austrians would not have been able to equal even under the walls of Vienna; for all the forces of the monarchy were already exhausted,—and the campaigns of Austerlitz and Wagram have sufficiently

proved that the inhabitants of Vienna, and even those of the hereditary states, except ■■■ Tyroleans, do not readily take up arms. They would probably have remained peaceable spectators of the contest, of which the object ■■■ of no advantage to them. As to the loss of Italy, there ■■■ likelihood of such ■■■ event. The small corps commanded by M. de Laudon might certainly have caused some confusion at first; but that general was without support—without any real line of operations. We possessed well-furnished fortresses, ■■■■■ garrisons, ■ body of excellent and well-commanded ■■■ troops. The insurrection of the Venetian states, on which the enemy reckoned, had been much exaggerated. Some hundred wretches, urged by the Venetian Government, ■■■ mas-sacred the sick at Verona, and some solitary Frenchmen ■■■ the highway; but there was a great difference between these outrages and ■■■ general strongly organized insurrection, ■■■ thering force from ■■■■■ and the thirst for revenge. The Venetian people ■■■■■ but ■■■■■

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attached to their government. The creation of a powerful republic in the midst of them inspired them with a desire of making a part of it; while a love for novelty made them shut their eyes on the sacrifices which revolutions require, and their vivid imagination had exaggerated the advantages they expected to reap from it. The friends of government were undoubtedly numerous, especially among persons in office and the priesthood, who cannot but lose in modern revolutions; but the mass of the people were strangers to their designs and their ambition. I have rather enlarged on the subject of this campaign, because I found in Paris, some time after, people who blamed it openly, notwithstanding its brilliant and solid result; but I was soon convinced that those reflections originated with the members of the Directory, who had been much less uncertain about the result of the conquest than disengaged with the haughty independence of General Bonaparte, who did not choose to submit to a plan traced by Government. The

passage of the ~~Milan~~ by Hoche ~~and~~ Moreau was a powerful diversion which the conqueror of Italy had himself wished for; but that operation, ~~it~~ have been really advantageous, ought, in his opinion, to have been put into execution much earlier. A last consideration, and which ~~it~~ itself ~~was~~ ~~subject~~ to ~~all~~ objections, ~~is~~ the intimate and convincing knowledge the General-in-chief had acquired of the dispositions of the ministers and persons who enjoyed decisive influence ~~in~~ the mind of the Emperor.

After the signature of the Treaty of Leoben, the army took up ~~a~~ position beyond the Tagliamento, and the General-in-chief came ~~to~~ Milan; but in his way he thought fit to punish the cruelties committed during the insurrection. He well knew that the insurrection had been prepared and directed by the Government of Venice; and he ~~had~~ acquired proofs that it ~~had~~ concerted with the enemy, and in ~~an~~ in-~~terior~~. But Bonaparte's revenge was one of an ~~old~~ politician. Austria had a great wish to get Venice into her possession. Bonaparte destroy-

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ed ■ government, ■ was enabled, by that  
■ offer ■ rich prey as ■ compensation  
in the negociation. It was accepted, without  
blushing, by a government which ■ hesi-  
tated in making its friends pay for faults  
caused by its ■ misconduct.

In the mean while ■ circumstance happened  
■ Genoa, that strongly fixed the General's at-  
tention. The government of that small ■  
public had refused ■ admit ■ of our squa-  
drons into its ports. The English party, that ■  
uppermost in the ■ of Genoa, had stirred  
up ■ riot among the rabble; a Frenchman had  
been killed, and the frigate *La Modeste* had  
been burned. Such acts of violence required a  
speedy and energetic repression; but General  
Bonaparte wished that the punishment might  
not be inflicted by the French government.  
■ emissaries, sent from Paris, had been  
instructed to obtain, by all possible means, ■  
union of Genoa with France. This was, how-  
ever, ■ the opinion of General Bonaparte. It  
would have caused ■ renewal of painful discus-

sions with the Austrians, at the very moment when the treaty was being put into execution. Besides, the Italian army derived considerable advantages from the Genoese republic. In consequence, General Bonaparte thought fit to send [redacted] to Genoa, with precise instructions, and [redacted] order to deliver to the Doge, in full senate, the letter he addressed to him, giving him no more than four-and-twenty hours to execute the measure [redacted] of which I [redacted] bearer. My entrance into the city caused great anxiety, and the approach of [redacted] terrible though unknown danger made the magistrate, in whose hands the care of the public reposed, feel that the republic [redacted] irretrievably lost, if any fresh outrages were committed in the presence of an aide-de-camp of General Bonaparte. The people became calm, if by enchantment. M. Fayoult, the French ambassador, [redacted] greatly dispirited; and when I declared to him that the orders of the General-in-chief were, that I should deliver my letter to the Doge in full senate, [redacted] recoiled with alarm, and [redacted]

■■■ no instance of a stranger ever having entered the Petty Council presided by the Doge. I replied, that there ■■■ no instance either of an order of General Bonaparte not being ■■■ cuted, and that he ■■■ immediately to acquaint the Doge of my arrival; that in ■■■ hour's time I would go to the palace of the Senate; that I had nothing to do with the forms of the Republic, ■■■ to ■■■ for the peril I might run in executing the orders of my chief. Half ■■■ hour afterwards I was informed that I might ■■■ ■■■ the palace. When I entered the hall, anger and consternation were visible on the features of all the members of the Council. After having delivered my letter, and required the execution of the orders it contained within four-and-twenty hours, I retired; and the agitation ■■■ ■■■ strong in the Assembly, that I heard a powerful voice repeating the words: "Ci batteremo," (We will fight.) However, they did ■■■ fight. Three ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■

Despatches ■■■ ■■■ to the General-in-chief.

A provisional government was instituted, and a commission chosen to modify the Genoese constitution. Anxiety, agitation, and fear — carried to the highest pitch. I thought I should be able to tell off the next day, when a vessel that entered the port gave me signs of uneasiness. It had on board Madame Bonaparte, (the General's mother,) with two of her daughters, afterwards known as Queen of Naples, and Grand Duchess of Tuscany,— and M. Bacciochi, newly married. These ladies had not seen the General-in-chief for several years. They had come from Marseilles, fancying that Italy was tranquil. General Bonaparte had not received the letter in which they acquainted him with their arrival. No measures had been taken,—no orders given; the riots might perhaps begin anew, and they might fall victims to popular fury. My first thought was, to remain with them, and to collect means of defence, in case they should be attacked. But Madame Bonaparte was a woman of great sense and courage. "I have nothing to fear in this

place," she said; "since my [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] hostages the [REDACTED] considerable persons of the Republic. Go quickly and acquaint him with my arrival. To-morrow I shall continue my journey." I followed her advice, merely taking the precaution of ordering [REDACTED] detachments of cavalry I found in my way to go to meet them. They arrived without accident the next day [REDACTED] Milan.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Embarrassed conduct of the Directory.—Meditated coup d'état.—General Bonaparte sends ■■■ Paris.—His Instructions.—I transmit ■■■ him the result of my observations.—Madame de Staél.—The 18th of Fructidor.—My return ■■■ Italy.

WHILE France and her armies were at ■■■ enjoying the repose bought by such heroic ■■■ tions, Government betrayed, by its internal dissensions, the fatal secret of its weakness and incapacity. The enlightened part of the ■■■ try had soon become sensible that ■■■ Directory would never obtain any but a temporary and stormy existence. Besides, the impossibility of preserving perfect harmony between five persons, possessing power in common, while they ■■■ swayed by ■■■ passions, prejudices, and characters, ■■■ easy to ■■■ con-

vinced that — the concentration of power in ■ few hands, being an homage paid to monarchy, would recall too many recollections, and too much regret for the old form of government, not to tempt its adherents to make efforts in its favour. In the eyes of the Royalists, the Directory — then only a — monarchy. They hoped that it would be short; and their wishes, inflamed by the expectation of success, made them bold. For the first time, they combined a reasonable plan by addressing themselves to the passions of their foes, and to ambition so ardent in its calculation. The Constitution of the Year III. had created two councils,—one called the "Council of Five Hundred," and the other the "Council of Ancients." Among the persons composing them were still many members of the Convention, who could not bear the idea of the return of the Bourbons; but among them also ■ some old constitutionalists, who ■ united their exertions ■ wishes for ■ establishment of a representative monarchy. The greatest part

among them were men of merit. All had been persecuted by the Committee of Public Safety. The members of the Directory ■■■■■ been all chosen out of the Convention, and the majority of them had voted for the death of the King. These ■■■■■ titles to recommend them to the confidence of the people, and much less ■ that of the Constitutionalists. This difference between the conduct and the opinions of Government, and ■ part of the Chambers, soon created an animosity, which betrayed itself in ■■■■■ their mutual concerns. Perhaps, however, it would not have brought on a catastrophe, if one of our most celebrated generals had not entered the Council of Five Hundred, already resolved to carry into execution ■ conspiracy in favour of the Bourbons.

Pichegru ~~is~~ was who conceived that fatal design a long time before. I was told by General Lahorie, who accompanied him to Paris when the Convention summoned the Conqueror of Holland ~~to~~ her ~~in~~ to crush the Jacobins, that when he left the metropolis after the ~~fall~~ of

the 12th Germinal, Pichegru lost — opportunity of showing his contempt for that Assembly,—contempt so great, that he grew angry — the thought of the praises and honours that had been lavished on him. Such were his ideas when he took the command of the Rhine army, and soon after began — correspondence with the Prince of Condé. It could not remain long a secret: the Prince wavered, asked advice, and solicited orders of the Count de Lille. This hesitation, these numerous letters, let — many people into the secret, that authentic papers were alone wanted to establish complete evidence of the plot. Those papers — — found. Count d'Entraigues, a fiery and active-minded emigrant, though not very prudent, — — of the agents of the — correspondence. He — attached — the Russian Legation which had been — — the former government of Venice, and he remained in that city, thinking himself — in his foreign regiments. The General-in-chief had him — rested. A great part of the correspondence

■■■ seized ■■■ his papers, ■■■ and ■■■ the Directory.

A government that felt itself strong enough to be just, would have had the traitor arrested, and the laws would have decided. But the Directory considered that Pichegru was protected by eminent services, by his great reputation, his title of Deputy, and the support of a whole party. The examination of the plot proved, besides, that if General Moreau had not taken a direct part in it, he had at least known of it. When he learned that Government was acquainted with it, he hastened to disclose it; but this tardy disclosure, instead of destroying suspicion, confirmed it. ■■■ that, other respectable names might be exposed. All these considerations made Government fear legal proceedings, the publicity and final result of which might too probably prove fatal to its members; ■■■ that ■■■ deemed preferable to involve in one common destruction, by a "coup d'état," ■■■ private of Government ■■■ those who had betrayed the Republic.

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General Bonaparte [ ] attentively the progress of these sad dissensions. In [ ] heat of the debates of the Council of Five Hundred, some aspersions [ ] been directed against his lieutenants, and even against himself. He [ ] proudly repelled them; but on [ ] turer thought, he resolved [ ] send [ ] Paris some [ ] who could obtain [ ] information on the situation of affairs, and I [ ] chosen for that mission. "Mix with every body," he said; "do not let yourself be led away by party spirit; tell [ ] the truth, and tell it [ ] free from all passion.

I arrived in Paris in the month of May. The five members of Government were, [ ] that time, Barras, Rewbell, Carnot, La Reveilliere Lépaux, and Barthelemy. The first four had been members of the Convention; and although none of them had been famous during the reign of Terror for any atrocious act, [ ] the three [ ] voted [ ] death of the King,—a vote which, notwithstanding [ ] trial though powerful consideration [ ] may be presented in

alleviation, placed them among the ~~most~~ furious Jacobins, and was prejudicial to the respect with which they ought to have been invested. The people bore impatiently the yoke of men who recalled ~~in~~ their minds such fatal events; ~~and~~ they were especially ~~alarmed~~ by the Constitutionalists of 1791, who reproached them ~~at~~ once with the destruction of their edifice, and the persecutions which had so long weighed upon them.

When I arrived, the contest ~~was~~ violent, and the antagonists of Government made no ~~secret~~ of their wish to overthrow the majority. My ~~first~~ visit ~~was~~ to Barras, who seemed to have preserved favourable sentiments for General Bonaparte, and who expressed to me a wish ~~to~~ maintain the friendship which had ~~so~~ long united them. After him I ~~saw~~ Carnot, who spoke to me with ~~a~~ ~~friendly~~ command by the intimate connexion of General Bonaparte with ~~him~~. A difference of systems ~~and~~ views ~~on~~ ~~the~~ points of Government had created between these two Directors an animosity

which betrayed itself in invectives and threats, that no opening for reconciliation. Carnot, however, expressed himself with candour. "It is impossible," he said, "to go any longer on the revolutionary road. If a lasting system of moderation be not adopted, all is lost. France feels horror for whatever brings to mind the deplorable misery to which the necessity of saving her has carried the country. The public mind is irritated, and unless great care be taken, the effect will be to involve us again in a confusion, out of which we shall be extricated only to bend under the yoke of the Bourbons. The faction against which I am struggling does not blush to charge me with being a royalist; and nevertheless, nobody is more convinced than I am of Pichegru's treason, and the necessity of punishing him; but they want to govern France as they would a club. Narrow views, passionate factious spirit, the prejudices of ignorance and fear, are suspicious and blind, preside over all acts: they prefer violence that irritates,

while moderation and firmness would be sufficient to smooth every thing. My situation is painful; for I am forced to act with a party in which, exclusive of Pichegru, there are men to whom I am obnoxious, who perhaps aspire with him, and who will ruin the Republic, without obtaining the secret aim of their endeavours. I have tried," he added, "to reclaim Pichegru; I am not personally acquainted with him; but the conversation I had with him convinced me that he is cleverer than I thought, and that he has taken final resolutions. I do not know what are his means of execution, now that he is no longer with the army; but whatever they may be, they will miscarry when opposed by the firm vigilance of Government, — by public opinion, which is strongly declared against the Bourbons."

This conversation, of which I have only recorded the most remarkable parts, was the only one I had with Carnot. The house of —— was open to me, and I went there so often that Carnot could not but look upon me as a man

entirely devoted ■ the party of that Director :  
■ was however not ■ All ■ speeches breath-  
ed hatred and vengeance. A month before  
the catastrophe took place, it was secretly re-  
solved to make it terrible, and the victims were  
marked out. My position and my duty for-  
bade me taking any part in the contest, but I  
wrote the truth to General Bonaparte. I ob-  
served that he would tarnish his glory if he  
gave any support to ■ of violence, which the  
situation of Government did not justify ; that  
nobody would pardon him if he joined the  
Directory in their plan to overthrow the con-  
stitution and liberty ; that proscriptions ■■■■■  
about to take place against the national ■■■■■  
presentation, and against citizens whose virtues  
made them worthy of respect ; that punish-  
ments would be inflicted without trial, and  
■■■■■ the hatred resulting from such measures,  
would extend not only to the Directory, but  
to ■■■■■ whole system of republican government.  
Besides, it was not certain that the party they  
were going ■■■■■ proscribe, really wished the re-

turn of the Bourbons; and in any case the legal punishment and banishment of Pichegru would [be] sufficient to destroy any plans of that sort. These considerations made so much impression on the mind of General Bonaparte, that he soon avoided, in [his] correspondence with the Directory, all allusion to the interior situation of France, and at last left [them] writing to them altogether. His long silence appeared strange to Barras, who however easily guessed the [truth] of it. He continued seeing me; but I perceived by his gravity, and the insidious questions of his favourites, that he suspected me of not being his friend. I [had] loved equivocal situations, and I hastened to get out of the [one] I was in by candidly declaring my sentiments to [one] of [his] confidants. "I know enough," I said, "of the plans of Government [to] hurt them if I were to acquaint their [friends] with what I do know: it would however be an act of treason, of which you know I am incapable. But, as a citizen and an honest man I [cannot] dissemble that I do not approve

of the *coup d'état* that is meditating : you are going to trample ■ laws and liberty. Such ■ system of violence will ■ or later re-coil on your own heads. After having toiled and suffered ten years to obtain ■ representative government, it is distressing to reap nothing but tyranny, ■ the convulsions of ■ chy." He answered me by ■ commonplace observations on the necessity of striking a great blow ■ ■ faction ■ wanted to overthrow the Republic. Barras, to whom this ■■■■■tion ■ reported, according to my intention, thought it requisite to dissemble : he did not ■ me ill, but he had ■ watched with ■ vigilance that extended ■■■■■ my correspondence with General Bonaparte. My letters to him were written in ciphers ; and that proof of mystery and mistrust, by augmenting their suspicions, contributed perhaps to hasten the catastrophe, through the fear that Bonaparte might take ■■■■■ resolution that would perplex the Directory.

I may here briefly describe ■■■ different mem-

bers of the Directorial government, whose existence was short, though its operations had so much influence on the destinies of France and the affairs of Europe.

Barras, who then discharged the functions of president, was descended from one of the ancient families of Provence. A bold disposition, and the wish to advance rapidly in the military career, had induced him to go to India, where he served in a colonial regiment. Having returned to France in 1789, he declared himself in favour of the Revolution, in which however he obtained no celebrity. Nature had refused him those qualifications which ensure success to an orator, but he had a great deal of resolution; and his conduct at the fall of Robespierre, by bringing upon him the hatred of the Jacobins, gave him a share in the gratitude all France felt for those who had contributed to the destruction of their horrible tyranny.

At the period I am now speaking of, Barres was the most violent of the three members of the Directory who wished for an alteration in

the councils. His ~~name~~ of Carnot was so strong, that a few days before the 18th Fructidor, one of his confidants, to whom I made the observation that Carnot would undoubtedly find means of escaping from persecution, answered, " ~~he~~ will kill him." He had continually in his mouth the most insulting expressions against those whom he suspected of being royalists. On the other hand, how is it possible to reconcile that hatred of the Bourbons and their friends, with the revelations published by Fauche Borel since the restoration, and which Barras never denied. The above-mentioned agent of Louis XVIII. has asserted that the Director had consented to the plan of the Count of Lille to bring about a Royalist revolution; that a formal pardon had been sent to him, and an amnesty for his vote in the trial of the late King; finally, that several millions had been promised him to make up for the loss of his rank as Director. If the ~~mention~~ of Fauche Borel be true, the animosity of ~~him~~ against the Royalist party can only be

explained by the impossibility, in which he found himself, of accomplishing his promises, — by ■■■ grief at being obliged to share the glory and the profit of a restoration with per- ■■■ whom he detested, and whose reputation ■■■ talents would offer the King better pledges than ■■■ could present. The conduct of Napoleon, in regard to Barras during his reign, may also be explained by the knowledge he had acquired of his treason.

Rewbell, the second Director, ■■■ a lawyer from Alsatia: his name will hold but a trivial place in history. He was at that time accused of amassing his fortune with ■■■ that might have procured him immense wealth; however, that charge has since been disproved in the clearest ■■■ After living fifteen years in obscurity, Rewbell ■■■ a short time ■■■ leaving ■■■ very middling fortune.

The third Director was named La Reveillere Lepaux: he also was a lawyer. A reputation for unsullied integrity and talent, proclaimed by four committees, had made him be regarded as a man

capable of governing the state. Carnot has used him very ill in [redacted] of [redacted] works. I believe there is a great [redacted] of exaggeration in that picture, which is traced by resentment; several features of it, however, approach very [redacted] to the truth. His friends and his valets used to call him [redacted] good soul, (*le bon homme*,) and he wept for joy when on the 18th Fructidor he heard that thirty legislators [redacted] to be transported to the burning sands of Cayenne. As a philosopher, he [redacted] at the head of a sect, and the Theophilanthropy which he sought to propagate [redacted] nothing more than pure deism. He used to lay offerings of flowers on his altars, while poor Christian priests under his government expiated the crime of teaching their religion in dark and solitary dungeons.

The only [redacted] in the council who deserved his high station, and who enjoyed undisputed respect, [redacted] Carnot. At that period he [redacted] not yet completely displayed the inflexibility of conscience and the wonderful disinterestedness [redacted] have made him hitherto inaccessible both

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to the seduction and ■ the threats and verity of power; but those who approached him admired in him ■ dignity of character combined with virtue and vast information, entirely devoted to support the liberty and independence of his country. The turn of his mind, and the unshaken firmness of his soul, inspired him with ■ predilection for ■ republican government, which experience does not seem to have weakened. Being himself a stranger to all the mean passions that animate and maintain society, he did not calculate ■ the corruption and the vanity of his countrymen. A republic being in his eyes the best of all governments, he thought nothing appeared too difficult for its preservation, nor perhaps nothing too ■■■■■ to insure its triumph. This austere republican ■ however ■ good and amiable ■■■ in the bosom of his family, he ■ indulgent to weakness and ■■■■■ His enemies themselves did not confound him with his cruel colleagues of the Convention. At the period I ■ speaking of, he struggled to alleviate the

situation of the emigrants and insure the tranquillity of their families: he resisted all oppressive measures, and wanted to establish the prosperity of the state on good laws, and the benefits of peace.

The ministers who formed the cabinet under this *Pentarchy* have not been able to escape oblivion, with the exception of ■■■ whose name will be recorded in history on account of the variety of parts he has acted. M. de Talleyrand left France in 1792, as Bishop of Autun; he returned in 1796 a republican, and with all the docile modesty of a disgraced man who wishes to return to favour. He possessed a remarkable degree of talent, which was much praised by his friends. He had however not yet attained the fame he afterwards enjoyed, ■ one of the most clever diplomatists of Europe. In that respect the Directory ■■■ not in want of ■■■ services. Numerous and important treaties had been signed by obscure persons, and ■■■ not the ■■■ for that. But the vanity of the Directors ■■■ flattered ■■■ having under their

orders a man who [had] formerly been a *grand seigneur*, who [had] given more than [had] pledge to the Revolution, [had] lost the right of [had] plaining of [the] excesses, having himself professed all its principles, and whose suppleness of character insured his obedience. He possessed, besides, considerable advantages over his predecessor, and [had] over his [had] masters—I [had] his connexion with influential men in foreign countries, a strong taste for politics, and the [had] perfect polish of [had]. Notwithstanding their rude republican pride, the Directors [were] sensible that, in their negotiations with foreign courts, a man of birth belonging to the old monarchy might be of use to them.

When M. de Talleyrand entered the ministry, dissension [was] at its greatest violence. [He] gently discarded [his] old friends who were struggling in the councils against the majority of the Directory, by feigning to believe [that] they [had] wished for the return of [the] Bourbons, [and] [he] remained a cool spectator of their disarray. The chief point [was] [had] in view [that]

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keep his place and re-establish his fortune, which had been destroyed by former disorders [redacted] public events. [redacted] quickly obtained his aim, from which nothing could divert him, neither the clamour raised by [redacted] enemies, [redacted] the reproaches of [redacted] masters, to which he constantly opposed a calm, patient, and, I may almost say, [redacted] careless resignation. I have witnessed some instances of it, and I felt that ambition cannot fail to create disgust when bought at such a price. He lived on a footing of intimacy with Madame de Staél, already celebrated for her superior mind, and a passion for fame, united to kindness of heart that has not been sufficiently appreciated. To say the truth, it was a little her [redacted] fault. I was convinced that she [redacted] not foresee the cruel proscriptions [redacted] oppressed the vanquished party; but I certainly [redacted] witnessed so much warmth of persecution. She undoubtedly saw nothing more in the struggle than the triumph of her political opinions,—I should rather say feelings; but [redacted] [redacted] be acknowledged, [redacted] an absence of all

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reflection could alone have led her to embrace so openly the part of men who trampled on liberty and national representation, the two ■■■■■ cherished objects of her worship. All ■■■■■ time she carried to enthusiasm her admiration of General Bonaparte. I saw her for the first time ■■■■■ de Talleyrand's. During dinner, the praises she lavished on the Conqueror of Italy had all the wildness, romance, and exaggeration of poetry. When we left the table, the company withdrew to ■■■■■ small room to look at the portrait of the hero; and ■■■■■ I stepped back to let her walk in, she said : " How shall I dare to pass before an aide-de-camp of Bonaparte ? " My confusion was so great, that she also felt ■■■■■ little of it, and ■■■■■ host himself laughed ■■■■■ I went to see her next morning. Her reception ■■■■■ kind enough ■■■■■ make ■■■■■ return often to her house ; and I do affirm that her lively imagination and her incredibil■■■■■ activity continued unceasingly the same up to the catastrophe. ■■■■■ nothing before her eyes but the counter-revolution, the return

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of the Bourbons, the revenge of the emigrants, and the loss of liberty.

The *dénouement* grew at last inevitable. The rage of the several parties had reached ■ greatest height. The journals, pamphlets, and posted bills contained the most violent provocations. The Constitution not having left the Directory space enough for defence, it resolved to overthrow all barriers. Still, there ■ wanted ■ celebrated general to put the plan into execution. Augereau came to their assistance. The day before he arrived from Italy, I received ■ letter from General Bonaparte, in which he said : "Augereau is going to Paris. Place ■ confidence in him. He has brought confusion into the army : he has a factious spirit." When I returned to Italy, I learned that the misunderstanding between the gene-■■■ and the officers of the two divisions of Augereau and Bernadotte had extended to the private soldiers, and that they taxed ■ another mutually with being Jacobins and Royalists. General Augereau had openly declared

for the majority of the Directory : Barras, who reckoned upon him, called him to [redacted] gave him the military command.

Government, being once certain of the support of the General, marked out their victims ; and in [redacted] night of the 17th Fructidor, orders to arrest them [redacted] delivered. As they might have escaped in the night, it [redacted] resolved to wait till daybreak, and by a wretched contrivance, worthy of a melo-drama, this outrage was immediately announced by the discharge of a four-and-twenty pounder [redacted] the platform of the Pont Neuf. The explosion broke [redacted] the windows in the neighbourhood, and spread dismay through the city. At eight o'clock in the morning the Director, Barthelemy, thirty members of the two Councils, and several writers, [redacted] to prison. A few days afterwards, a part of France witnessed their representatives dragged along, in trelliced carts, like wild beasts. They [redacted] taken to Rochefort, and from thence to Guyenne, where the unwholesome climate proved fatal to some of these unhappy

men. Several of the victims succeeded in escaping. Carnot found a refuge in the house of M. \*\*\*, one of the warmest advocates of the \*\*\*. But he was the countryman and friend of the Director, and his generous soul found it hard to conciliate the duties of friendship with the passion of party spirit.

I had passed the evening of the 17th with Barras. The ill-disguised agitation of the courtiers, and the words which I caught *en passant*, taught me the secret of the night. I was tired early, resolved not to show myself the next day, as I did not wish to lead any one to suppose by my presence that General Bonaparte approved of such unheard-of violence. I went however to Barras the day after. As soon as he perceived me, he called me to his closet; and then assuming a threatening look and tone of voice, he said: "You have betrayed the Republic and your General. For the last six weeks, Government has received many private letters from him. Your opinions on what is going forward are known to us and you have

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undoubtedly painted our conduct under the  
odious colours. I declare to you, [REDACTED]  
last night the Directory [REDACTED] whether  
you ought not [REDACTED] share the fate of the [REDACTED]  
spirators that [REDACTED] the road to Guyenne.  
Out of consideration for General Bonaparte,  
you shall remain free; but I have just sent [REDACTED]  
my secretary to explain to him what has hap-  
pened, and your conduct." I answered very  
coolly: "You have been deceived. I [REDACTED]  
betrayed any person! The events of the 18th  
[REDACTED] calamitous. Nobody shall ever persuade  
me that Government has [REDACTED] right to punish  
representatives of the people without trial, and  
in contempt of the laws. I have not written  
any thing else for the last six weeks; and if  
you wish to ascertain the fact, here is the key  
of my bureau: have my papers seized; their  
examination will [REDACTED] my false [REDACTED] with  
confusion." This moderate and firm reply, but  
especially my proposal, pacified him. [REDACTED] tried  
to begin an explanation, but I retired. When  
I returned home, I burned my correspondence:

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it might have exposed my General, and consequently I could not hesitate. When that [redacted] done, I sent off, [redacted] express, an officer of the [redacted] who [redacted] at Paris, to acquaint the General with all that had happened; and not wishing that my sudden departure should be attributed to fear, I remained eight days longer in town. I went, however, to General Augereau to inquire whether he had any commission to give me. Since he had been in Paris he [redacted] like [redacted] beside himself. He spoke to [redacted] of the General-in-chief with a great deal of flippancy, and of the 18th of Fructidor with [redacted] enthusiasm than he would have done of the battle of Arcola. "Do you know," he said, "that you deserve to be shot for your behaviour?—but you need not be uneasy, and you may rely [redacted] me." I thanked him with a smile; but I felt it would be useless to put his kindness to [redacted] proof, and the next day I set [redacted] for Italy.

## CHAPTER XIV.

My return to Paris after the 18th Fructidor.—First hint of the Expedition to Egypt—Its motives—Its aim.—Mission of ■ Pousseigne to Malta.

I LEFT Paris on the 11<sup>th</sup> Vendemiaire, just as the Directory, the Ministers, and all the constituted authorities, were going to the Champ de Mars to celebrate the new year, according to the custom of the time. The President of the Government walked up to the altar of the country and made a speech, in which, among great praise bestowed on the armies, were frequently introduced threatening insinuations against the enemies of Government, and abuse against the Sovereigns at war with the Republic. It was under the canopy of Heaven, in the presence of the Supreme Being, (to use the then fashionable expression,) that those

sermons — preached before the multitude, which never failed to be very numerous if the weather happened to be fine.

I was very anxious to be on the other side of the Alps, that I might know what the General-in-chief thought of my conduct. At the passage of Mont Cenis, I met an aide-de-camp of General Augereau, called Deverine, who was returning dismayed with the harsh reception he had met with from General Bonaparte, and who acquainted me with his misfortune. He had been sent to Italy by his general, a few days after the 18th Fructidor, to claim from the paymaster of the army 600,000 francs, which were not owing to him, and which he thought no man would dare to refuse him. The same officer was also the bearer of copies of Clarke's secret correspondence with Carnot, from the time of his entrance into Italy. The generals of the army to whom Augereau gave copies of those letters were very much abused in this by the military diplomatist, and the General-in-chief was even attacked in his pri-

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character. Enraged against Clarke, they thought ■ to deliver into the hands of their chief these abusive letters, without dissembling their contempt for a man they had never ■ in their ranks. General Bonaparte, having heard of the demand for money made ■ the paymaster of the army, ordered him not to pay it; and having ■ for the poor aide-de-camp, he gave him a severe reprimand, and sent him back to Paris as quick ■ he could. The young ■ extremely grieved ■ his adventure, and bestowed many imprecations on Augereau for having exposed him by such ■ ridiculous message.

This little accident gave me ■ insight into General Bonaparte's disposition, and I hurried the ■ to rejoin him.

I ■ entering the long ■ leading to the castle of Passeriano, when I perceived Clarke, who stopped my carriage. The Directory ■ deprived him of his diplomatic mission, and dismissed ■ as a general ■ half-pay. "I am in the ■ wretched condition,"

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■ said ■ me, "but you may still be of service to me. Do not speak of the Directory's being incensed against me, and mention my dismissal ■■■ natural consequence of the ■■■ of Carnot. By that ■■■ General Bonaparte will keep me with him. He knows the secret of what I wrote against the generals; he'll silence them." Clarke ■■■ unfortunate. I had been long ■■■ quainted with him; ■■ I gave him my word that I would serve him. The thing ■■■ not altogether very difficult: the General-in-chief ■■■ a liking for him; the Directory forgot him, and did not insist ■■ his leaving the army.

I had scarcely arrived at the castle, when General Bonaparte sent for me into the garden, and there continued questioning me during four hours. My correspondence had acquainted him with all the particulars of the event; but I ■■■ still obliged to describe the hesitations, ■■■ of passion, and almost every gesture of the principal actors. His opinion had been long fixed respecting the different members of the Directory, and even the nature of the Go-

vernment itself. "But," said he, "with such rude forms, why so much weakness? Why then so much temerity when firmness would have been sufficient? There was cowardice in not daring to put Pichegru on his trial. His guilt was obvious, and the witnesses were than sufficient to convict him. At best, if the High Court had acquitted him, he would nevertheless have been dishonoured in the face of the army and of France. Force is good when one cannot do otherwise; but when one is free to choose, justice is better." Then, according to custom, he continued for a long while walking about in silence. At last he added, on taking leave of me: "All things well considered, this Revolution will prove a vigorous stroke to the nation." When he turned to the castle, he sent for Botteau, the secretary to Barras; had a long conversation with him, and sent him back in the course of the night.

A few days afterwards, Bernadotte returned from Paris. I soon perceived that he re-

presented events under a ■■■■■ favourable light for Government than I had; but through all the particulars he mentioned, his ■■■■■ animadversions ■■■ the War Department, and his conjectures on the renewal of hostilities, General Bonaparte had ■■■ difficulty in penetrating his ambition and his designs. The Directory had loaded him with praises; the Ministry of the War Department had been promised him; and when, ■ short time after, the General-in-chief learned the nomination of General Augereau to the command of the Army of the Rhine, he felt that with so weak ■ companion, and so ambitious ■ minister, it would be impossible for him to advance freely and to obtain glorious results. Peace was consequently ■ solved on in his mind. I ■■■ far from doubting that considerations of ■■■■■ elevated nature, and especially the wish to give peace ■ France, then sinking under the burthen of her sacrifices, swayed his resolution; but ■■■■■ tainly the choice of those two ■■■■■ contributed greatly ■■■ fix it.

During the long unoccupied days that the diplomatic debates afforded him, the General-in-chief used ■ pass ■ part of his evenings with the learned Monge, whom he had summoned ■ his person. Among the varied and instructive conversations which delighted the General-in-chief, the plan of conquering Egypt, so often presented to the Ministry in the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. ■ discussed. The General, who always went to the bottom of every thing, wished to read all that had been written ■ the subject. Monge, having held for some time the portfolio of the Marine Department, ■ enabled to procure him quickly all the most interesting papers. The ■ that had been proposed appeared faulty to the General-in-chief; but the fertility of his mind made him discover the advantages he might derive from his position, to lay down a plan easier of execution and better in its result. It ■ probable that the idea was ■ that very moment communicated to the Directory; for, soon after, the first germs of its execution be-

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gan secretly to develope themselves. M. Pousseilgues, late Chief Clerk of the Treasury, [REDACTED] that time Secretary of the French Legation [REDACTED] Genoa. This gentleman had several relations, merchants, at Malta. He [REDACTED] called to the head-quarters, and from thence he went to Malta. His mission was to sound the disposition of the Government, and of the French knights, to get well acquainted with the spirit of the people, and to ascertain what [REDACTED] the means of subsistence, or the obstacles to be expected. Finally, he was to do his utmost to send to the head-quarters some of the Knights of Malta whom Bonaparte might have known at the military school. This mission was executed with great secrecy and intelligence; and during Pousseilgues' absence, [REDACTED] cret efforts in furtherance of the object advanced rapidly. To [REDACTED] curiosity astray, the General spoke of [REDACTED] journey he proposed to make after the peace was concluded. He [REDACTED] he intended to go [REDACTED] Germany and the North of Europe with his wife, Monge, Generals

Berthier and Marmont. I [redacted] destined to accompany Eugene Beauharnois, who at that time [redacted] than seventeen years of age. General Bonaparte diverted himself with setting up a plan of studies and observations, of which [redacted] were to give an account at the different places where we were to meet. That plan [redacted] the [redacted] reasonable, [redacted] General Bonaparte could scarcely live at rest in France, if peace lasted any time. He would not have been able to avoid the clashing of the different factions, and would perhaps have been forced to take part in the measures they would have attempted, with a view to triumph. The Directory was afraid of him ; his glory [redacted] annoying ; his influence [redacted] the enemy could not fail to be immense. On the other hand, he was too young [redacted] have a place in the Directory, and the idea of being the minister of Barras and La Reveillere Lépeaux [redacted] not to be borne.

All these reflections determined him to make peace, notwithstanding the contrary orders of the Directory. Misunderstanding and dissa-

tisfaction showed themselves in all the letters he addressed to the Government. His unpublished correspondence contains three of those letters, in which his ill-humour is displayed with a degree of energy and pride that made the Directory tremble, and was the source of the hatred which in course of time brought — the 18th Brumaire. The Directory did not wish to sacrifice Venice to Austria: General Bonaparte wanted to retain Mantua; and — his instructions did not prescribe absolutely that he should not abandon Venice, he took upon himself to sign, on the 4th Vendemiaire, (25th September,) the treaty of Passeriano, well convinced that Government would not dare to express discontent openly; and that France, rejoiced at peace, would overrule with her applause the — of the General's enemies. According to — calculations, the courier of the Directory was to arrive at Passeriano the very day fixed for the signature. Bonaparte was reckoning with — the distance the courier had to go, and the hour he might arrive; and he candidly —

knowledged the perplexity he would be in, if he received from Government an order not ■ go any farther. Recollecting afterwards with disgust the slow march of Moreau in Germany, a few months before, while he ■■■ Leoben ; and the appointment of Augereau to the command of the Rhine army, instead of Desaix, whom he had recommended in the most pressing manner, he added, in ■ tone of much ill-humour, "I ■ very well that they ■ preparing defeats for me. That man (meaning Augereau) is incapable of conceiving an extensive plan. He will get beaten, or will not advance at all ; all the Austrian forces will then fall upon me, and my beloved Italy will be the grave of the French army." He then questioned me ■ to the disposition of that part of France through which I had travelled, and I assured him that peace would be received with enthusiasm ; that the people would bestow blessings ■■ him, and that public happiness would be his work.

At last, on the ■■■ of Vendemiaire, the ministers of Austria were called to Passeriano,

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and the secretaries of the two Legations made copies of the treaty. This business lasted the whole day. The General was delightfully merry. No serious discussions! He remained a part of the day in the saloon, and would not have the candles lighted when it grew dark. We sat talking and telling another ghost stories, like a family living in an old castle. At last, at about ten o'clock at night, he was told that all was ready. He ran to his closet, cheerfully signed the document, and at midnight General Berthier, the bearer of the treaty, was on the road to Paris. Twelve hours afterwards, the courier of the Directory arrived. The orders were positive; and if they had come to hand the day before, the treaty would not have been signed. The next day the General-in-chief wrote to the Directory, expressing his wish to leave Italy, and to go to France to enjoy a little repose; but it was absolutely necessary first to organize the Cisalpine Republic; to take prudential measures against the Pope and the King of Naples, who showed the most

hostile intentions. A squadron, with troops, had been sent to Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia, to take possession of these Venetian islands, which had been given to France by the Treaty of Campo Formio, and the General did not think fit ■ leave Italy before he received ■ counts of their organizations.

In the mean while, M. Pousseilgues ■ beginning to give the required information respecting the disposition of the public mind at Malta. ■ had succeeded in sending to the General, M. N\*\*\*, his former schoolfellow at the military school, and who had been for several years ■ knight in the island. From his report, and the letters of M. Pousseilgues, it appeared that the Knights of the French tongue, receiving neither money ■ reward from their relations, and ■duced to the most miserable shifts to live, would not stand much upon their fidelity to the Order; and that they would have ■ objection to leave the island, provided they got leave to return to France; that the Grand Master Hompesch, a man devoid of strength of mind, would probably

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make no use of the means of defence he possessed in his military position, and the land and sea forces he had at his disposal. The persons who surrounded him had influence upon him, so much the more pernicious on account of the desire of both the English and the Russians to gain possession of the island. The Russian consul was a bold and active man, who frightened the Government by his threats, and spread disorder and terror in the minds of every one. It was therefore of great consequence to General Bonaparte to take a resolution and show himself before the island with an imposing force, that might decide the Grand Master in favour of France. He resolved last to leave Italy. He addressed a proclamation to the army, and left under the command of General Kilmaine.

## CHAPTER XV.

Departure of General Bonaparte for Rastadt.—Murder of the Plenipotentiaries.

BONAPARTE crossed Switzerland, and went to Rastadt: his travelling companions were, Generals Marmont, Duroc, myself, his secretary Bourrienne, and Ivan his physician. The only place ■ which he stopped was Geneva, where the Directory ■■■ already beginning, by underhand manœuvres, to augment the number of its adherents, who ■■■ one day to effect the union of that Republic with France. Carnot had sought refuge in that city, and General Bonaparte privately sent him advice to leave it as ■■■ as possible, ■■■ to prevent ■ persecution he ■■■ ■■ able to prevent.

M. Necker — then living — his — — — Coppet, near Geneva. He still looked upon himself — — great man, and flattered himself that the Conqueror of Italy would pay him a visit. I do not know what — — — that time General Bonaparte's opinion of the financial talents of the late Minister of Louis XVI.; but I am — — he had but little esteem for his personal character, and had positively declared his disapprobation of the Sovereign's choice of — minister for France. We had a great desire to go with him and — the — that Voltaire had celebrated in the latter part of his life; but the General-in-chief had also — grudge against Voltaire. He therefore thought fit not to make either of the two pilgrimages. We crossed Switzerland without stopping anywhere. However, his carriage having broken down — a league from Morat, — travelled that part of the way on foot. Though it was no more than seven o'clock in the morning, the road was covered with people, and especially women, who — passed the night

there, to get ■ peep ■ the Conqueror of Italy. When we arrived ■■■ the bone-house, where lie deposited the remains of the Burgundian soldiers killed in the famous battle of Morat, ■■■ found ■ General d'Erlac, of the celebrated family of that name, who ■■■ waiting for the General-in-chief, in the expectation that he would stop to ■■■ the monument. General Bonaparte not being in military uniform, the stranger, without knowing him, gave him all the particulars he could wish respecting the victory of the Swiss. After he ■■■ examined the military position, he only said, "Charles the Bold must have been a great madman!" This reflection, uttered in a firm tone, apprised M. d'Erlac that he ■■■ in the presence of the hero he had so much wished to ■■■ A respectful bow, and a compliment expressed with emotion, ■■■ the only homage he ■■■ enabled to pay him, for the General proceeded on his journey.

Two days afterwards ■■■ passed through Offembach, the head-quarters of Augereau, the General-in-chief of ■■■ army. General

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Bonaparte stopped before his door, and sending him word that he [REDACTED] there, but in too great a hurry to get out of his carriage, he added, that he wished to [REDACTED] him for one moment. The lieutenant of the General-in-chief had however already begun to forget him, and his only answer was, that he was dressing. This unpoliteness [REDACTED] but [REDACTED] repaired the next day, when he sent his aide-de-camp. Augereau's hatred of General Bonaparte augmented in proportion with his wrongs, and only ended with his life.

By the Treaty of Campo Formio it [REDACTED] agreed that a congress should assemble at Rastadt [REDACTED] treat of peace between the Empire and the French Republic. The choice of the place recalled to memory the celebrated period of 1707, when the Castle of Rastadt united [REDACTED] its walls the Duke de Villars and Prince Eugène of Savoy. This time the Emperor did not think fit to be represented by [REDACTED] of his warriors. They [REDACTED] all of them been beaten by the French. Count Metternich represented [REDACTED] Roman Emperor, [REDACTED] Count Latorbach,

the King of Bohemia — Hungary. Count Cobentzel came there with other negotiators, who had signed the Treaty of Campo Formio. On the side of France there was M. Treilhard, late member of the Convention, who not only had voted for the death of the King, but who had — boasted at the time that it — he who had persuaded the Duke of Orleans to give the same vote. He — a very learned lawyer, and a man of rigid character. The criminal code was composed by him. He — far from being eloquent, and had not even an easy style of elocution. He was — accompanied by M. Bonnier d'Arco, a harsh man, of a violent, and frequently untractable humour. These two plenipotentiaries — all but pleasing to the diplomatists covered with stars, and whose ancient — preceded by their high-sounding titles. The contrast was singular; for the two ambassadors of the Republic — — any but round hats, and their shoes were fastened with strings; but the other nations were obliged to submit to the



French Republic, — I — railleries to which these two gentlemen — exposed were never expressed in their presence. The General-in-chief — no desire to remain at Rastadt. The obscure discussions of the negociation, and the artful finesse of the German chancery, would have been a sad recompense for the fatigue he had suffered in the army, and a still sadder one for his victories. Nothing therefore took place but mere form. Only — remarkable circumstance happened during his short stay. The King of Sweden, in his quality of the Grand Duke of Pomerania, had sent to the Congress of Rastadt Count Fersen, formerly celebrated at the Court of France, and who had acted a conspicuous part in the famous journey to Varennes. The hatred of his Sovereign for France was a well-known fact, and the Count could not be agreeable. He happened to express the fatal wish of — being presented to the General. When he — in — presence, the latter said to him, " How could you expect, Sir, you could be able to serve the



interests of Sweden,—you who are only known by your affection for ■ government justly proscribed ■ France, ■■■ by your useless ■■■ tions for its re-establishment?" M. ■■■ Fersen replied by a few words which we did not hear. General Berthier, who ■■■ present, wishing ■■■ relieve him, recalled to ■■■ memory that they ■■■ fought together in America. By that means the ambassador retired ■ little less perplexed, and the next day he left Rastadt, whi- ther he did not return until ■■■ time after.

Two days after this scene General Bonaparte ■■■ off for Paris, leaving ■■■ at the Congress with M. Perret, Secretary of the Legation ■■■ Campo Formio. "I cannot take you with me ■■■ Paris," he said; "the Directory has not yet forgot your conduct on the 18th Fructidor, and this is not the ■■■ moment for justifying your- self. I ■■■ make you amends for this here- after. Remain here. Write ■■■ all you hear of the diplomatic gossip. You will ■■■ easily ■■■ again the ■■■ opportunity of gaining in- struction. I leave with you some of my ■■■

vants, for I want people to think I shall soon come back."

■ intention ■■ not, however, to return to Rastadt. The difficulties brought in by the insinuations of ■■ de Thougeat every moment impeded the negotiations. After three months' debates, nothing ■■ agreed ■■ ■■ the ■■■■■ of concluding. The deputies of the powers of the second order in Germany, ■ great many members of the immediate nobility, and the numerous and rich holders of livings, sought support from the King of Prussia, who had neither the will ■■ the power to protect them. Convinced of the hatred of the Emperor, and of his resolution to sacrifice them, the greater number amongst them sought another support by secret negotiations with the minister of France.

My position had become very difficult. I was detested by the members of the Directory, and consequently mistrusted by the plenipotentiaries of ■ Republic. I could not mention the real motive that kept me ■ Rastadt. My

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presence ■ the Congress ■ displeasing Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier; ■ the ministers of Germany, obliged by their position to offer ■ kind reception to the French who resided with them, looked upon ■ ■ their representative; and finding it less painful to have a connection with an officer who enjoyed the confidence of General Bonaparte, they bestowed ■ ■ alone the attention they ought to have divided amongst us, and left nothing but cold ceremony for the others. Consequently, I ■ continually in company with Count Cobenzel and the family of Metternich. But I took ■ to acquaint General Bonaparte with my new position. ■ approved of it, recommending me, however, to act with due discretion. I shall not repeat the particulars of what took place during five months in this small German town. Diplomatic prattle, debates, generally without result, grand dinners, and ennui, would by no ■ interest ■ reader. However, he may possibly be glad ■ know what I have since learned respecting the murder of the ple-

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nipotentiaries of the Republic. These particulars were communicated to me by the Prince of Leiningen, and the Count of Solms Laubach, with whom I was very intimate. They were at [REDACTED] in their [REDACTED] business, and showed in that catastrophe much courage and devotion for [REDACTED] unfortunate ministers.

These ministers had eagerly taken advantage of the secret proceedings of the ministers of the second and third rank and several members of the nobility of Germany. In hopes of being spared if the war broke out again, they promised to side with France. These secret dealings could not escape me, as, by the situation of my apartments in the castle, I frequently met the Secretaries of Legation of the small Princes of Germany sneaking in [REDACTED] Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier's lodgings, which were not very distant from mine. When M. Roberjot was instead of M. Treilhard, those meetings grew still more frequent. He had [REDACTED] several diplomatic missions; and [REDACTED] were more polite and attractive than those of [REDACTED] col-

leagues. Count Lehrbach, a man of determined character, full of energy, — — — sworn enemy of France, — — undoubtedly soon — — acquainted with the disposition of the hidden foes of Austria. The more the negotiations advanced, the — — evident it appeared that the peace would not — of long standing ; and the war — already secretly resolved, when the news — — that General Bonaparte had embarked for the East, with some of the most able French generals, and thirty thousand of the best troops of the Republic. Count Lehrbach left Rastadt a short time before the commencement of hostilities, and — can scarcely be doubted but that it was he who induced the Austrian Cabinet to resolve to arrest the ministers of France.

A regiment of hussars of Szeckler, — — — of pandiers, recruited — the frontiers of Turkey, already surrounded Rastadt, when the French ministers received an order to leave the place. The Baden commander of the town — in vain advised them to — off in the morning,

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that they might [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] before night-fall. Their preparations caused delay: they [REDACTED] encumbered with papers they wished to keep, and they [REDACTED] besides convinced that their sacred character of ambassadors would shelter them from insult. The day [REDACTED] advanced when they departed. At a few leagues from Rastadt they [REDACTED] stopped and murdered. I am persuaded that the Austrian Government did not give an order for murdering them, but only for seizing their papers; while the soldiers, finding a great deal of [REDACTED] ney about them, urged by avarice, and probably intoxicated, thought the best way would be to stifle their complaints by murdering them.

I arrived [REDACTED] Paris about a month before [REDACTED] departure for Toulon.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations [redacted] departure of the Egyptian Expedition.—  
Malta.—I am sent [redacted] Corfu and Janina.—Return to  
Egypt.

I SHALL speak hereafter of my marriage with Mademoiselle Emilie Beauharnais. The preparations of the Eastern expedition had been made very secretly. The Directory had not even entrusted to their clerks the task of copying the various orders that were to be transcribed, and the secret had been [redacted] well kept [redacted] England in no way suspected our design, [redacted] could take any [redacted] to prevent it. Fourteen ships of the line were assembled [redacted] Toulon. Each ship took only [redacted] the necessary number of [redacted] the [redacted] of the crews was composed of all [redacted] regiments of the army. Admiral Brueys com-

manded the fleet; and the officers who served under his orders, all full of ardour, had most of them already acquired reputation — clever  
men.

In the fleet of Toulon, troops who were embarked at Genoa, Ajaccio, and Cività Vecchia, had received orders to join the ■■■ before ■■■ arrival at Malta. I embarked on board the frigate Artemisa, which ■■■ ■■ sort of aide-de-camp to the Admiral. The flotilla of General Desaix ■■■ having come to the rendezvous, the Artemisa ■■■ sent on discovery. General Murat joined us; and when we were not far from Malta, he obliged the captain ■■■ give him a boat, that he might ■■■ down ■■■ the outward defences of Valetta. This was an act of imprudence: he was also guilty of another, which I shall mention, because it gives ■■■ idea of the character of ■■■ general. While cruizing before Malta, the only man-of-war the Order possessed came up ■■■ wanting to get into the port. Murat made a signal for her ■■■ leeward of our frigate. This ■■■ contrary to custom: but

the captain of the ~~Mallorquin~~ ship being taken  
■■■■■ and intimidated ■ sight of the tri-  
coloured flag, obeyed the signal without he-  
sitation; on his arrival he spread ■ alarm;  
and the city, which ■ might have ■ by  
surprise, ■ in a state of defence when ■  
landed.

On the 10th of June the fleet at last ap-  
peared in sight of Malta. The aspect of ■  
large ■ fleet, with four hundred transports and  
■ formidable army, threw the Grand Master  
and his council into the greatest dismay, and  
spread confusion among the knights and inha-  
bitants of the island. The disorder augment-  
ed, and a French knight had already been  
murdered by ■ populace of the city, when  
the General-in-chief ■ his aide-de-camp, Ju-  
not, ■ summon the Grand Master to open the  
gates. The answer being that the Government  
was resolved to defend the place, ■ part of the  
army landed, ■ the small fortresses which  
defended the shore, took possession of them,  
■ soon after invested ■ town. The fortifi-

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cations of Valetta consist of a ditch dug in the rock, the dimensions of which make an attack extremely difficult. It was quite impossible to open the trenches, as all the men together could not have procured us wood, nor were there enough to establish any batteries and shelter us from the fire of the fortress. Fortunately, the Grand Master was seized with fear. The Russian Consul had already required that the island should be delivered up to some Russian troops who were expected. The Grand Master, fancying that the Order of Malta was irretrievably lost, and forgetting that from one moment to another an English fleet might arrive and deliver him, resolved to sign a capitulation with General Bonaparte. The treaty was soon concluded; and, two days after our arrival, the army was master of the city and forts, and the fleet at anchor in the harbour of Valetta. General Caffarelli, on examining more minutely the fortifications, said to the General-in-chief — “ It was very lucky for us that there were people in the place

open the gates for us ; for if ■ had been deserted, the army would never have got in, notwithstanding all ■ exertions." Next day the Grand Master and all his officers went on board of a brig, and I received orders to ■ duct them, with the frigate Artemiss, to the extremity of the Adriatic Gulf, that they might ■ into the hands of the Barbary corsairs, who would have considered them glorious trophies. Two days after ■ departure we met a Ragusan vessel, from whom we learned ■ had ■ in the morning an English fleet steering towards Malta. Fortunately the army and its chief ■ already gone ■ Our great fleet, with our four hundred transports, ■ during the night along the north ■ of Candia, while Nelson was waiting for ■ on ■ south.

It ■ long discussed in the fleet what would ■ been the result ■ Nelson ■ ■ us. The military officers, ■ especially those who were on board the ships of ■ line, were ■ vinced that ■ should have beaten the English

fleet: General Bonaparte supported [redacted] opinion by all the authority his name could [redacted] give it. I must however acknowledge [redacted] that I never shared it. Four hundred transports, the captains of which were but in a small part Frenchmen, and which extended along all points of the horizon, would quickly have been dispersed by the English frigates. In spite of all [redacted] exertions, we should have experienced great losses. The Egyptian expedition would no more have been practicable; but the army might have thrown itself on the [redacted] of Sicily, and have made itself master of that island. The cowardice of the Grand Master, and the wretched defence of the Knights of Malta, [redacted] stroke of fortune that seemed to protect the destiny of the General-in-chief.

I had received an order to inspect the fortifications of Corfu, and the magazines with which that city [redacted] provided.\* From thence [redacted] was [redacted] go and acquaint Ali, the Pacha of Janina, with the conquest of Egypt, [redacted] try to

\* See Appendix, No. I.

persuade him, that — we remained — with the Grand Seignior, it — his interest not to break with France. My mission was difficult and dangerous. We knew Ali Pacha for — incapable of keeping faith. He — then on a good understanding with the troops dispersed through the Ionian Islands, and the coast of that part of Greece over which he had the command; but I was certain he would abandon — and become our enemy — — — his policy might show him any advantage — the other side. When I arrived at Corfu I met General Chabot, who asked me whether I — the bearer of rich presents for Ali Pacha, and of a great deal of money to pave my way; for he added, "These are the best arguments you can make use of with him." These — precisely the things General Bonaparte had forgot. "But," said he, "you need not be — easy: the Pacha is on the Danube, fighting, much against — will, at Udin, with Paswan Oglia." This account took a great burden — my mind. I hastened to execute the other part of my mission, and got to Egypt.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Interview with Admiral Brueys ■■■ board the Orient.—My arrival ■■■ Cairo.—Mourad Bey—His intrepidity and firmness.—Oppressive government of the Mamelukes.—Battle of Salabieh.—The General receives the ■■■ of the loss of the battle of Aboukir.

AT ■ few leagues from Aboukir, whither I had received orders to go, the frigate I ■■■ ■■■ board of ■■■ chased by an English vessel that came to reconnoitre the fleet. This happened on the 21st of July. I went on board the Orient to ■■■ Admiral Brueys, the commander of the fleet. I had not expected ■■■ find the fleet moored in the roads of Aboukir. The following ■ word for word what the Admiral said to ■■■ “When General Bonaparte ■■■ Alexandria to penetrate into ■■■ Desert, he gave ■■■ the choice either ■■■ enter ■■■ old

port of Alexandria, or ~~in~~ ~~in~~ with ~~the~~ ~~the~~ to Corfu, after having landed all ~~the~~ goods and provisions of the army. Since ~~the~~ moment I have received ~~no~~ account whatever from the army, nor its leader. I have sounded the passes of the ~~the~~ port; but it ~~can~~ only be entered with a north-west wind, and by boats: this has taken up much time, and the ~~\* \* \*~~ is the only ship that has as yet been able ~~to~~ get into the port. It is quite impossible for me to leave the ~~coast~~ of Egypt before I receive accounts from the army. Can I set ~~off~~ and ~~leave~~ a port of Europe, without having any satisfactory ~~news~~ to give France and her Government? If, what I scarcely think possible, General Bonaparte ~~were~~ to find in the country insurmountable obstacles, and if he ~~were~~ obliged ~~to~~ re-embark, would it not be a criminal ~~act~~ on my part to deprive him of the only ~~means~~ of ~~which~~ he ~~has~~ left ~~at~~ my disposal? I have seen to-day ~~a~~ English vessel for the first time since I have been here. ~~Most~~ probably I shall ~~be~~ ~~at~~ ~~at~~ to-morrow ~~on~~ the day after. I

shall send for the vessel that is in the ~~the~~ port. If you follow my advice, you will remain with us. We have sanguine hopes of ~~the~~ you will enjoy the satisfaction of carrying ~~to~~ your General the intelligence of a glorious victory. As I could neither enter the old port of Alexandria, nor go away, I have taken up a ~~position~~ of military position here. I have been forced ~~to~~ moor the ships; because, having left Toulon with half-crews, I have not men enough ~~to~~ fight sailing." To this, Admiral Ganthesume added: "We are at some distance from the small island you ~~are~~ yonder, because the ground there will not hold our anchors, and it would be dangerous ~~to run~~ to the shore; but we ~~are~~ defended from that side by a formidable battery."

After my conversation with the Admiral, I ~~walked~~ during the night, alone, ~~near~~ that immense ship, which carried ~~one~~ guns. I did ~~not~~ see a single person upon deck; it appeared to me as if I were in ~~the~~ Church of ~~the~~ Dame. A circumstance ~~had made~~ the solitude

still more singular was that, before our landing, there had been 2145 persons on board, and at that moment there were not above 1000. The moment I examined this vast floating citadel, the less inclined I felt to take part in the battle. In fact, I was not a sea-officer, and my duty was to join my general. There would be no want of messengers to bring him intelligence of a victory, whilst I should reap much blame and very little pity, if by some disaster or other I were to be taken prisoner or killed. I went therefore to the Admiral and said to him: "After mature consideration, I am resolved to continue my journey. I must give an account of my mission, and the position wherein I found you." He gave me a boat to carry me to Rosetta; but I soon repented the step I had taken. The swell occasioned by the meeting of the Nile with the sea was then very strong, and a violent tempest seemed to threaten danger that threatened us. A vessel much larger, which was still struggling,

was kind enough to throw ■ a rope, that ■ might fasten ■ boat to her, and avoid running out ■ sea, where we might ■ to the bottom, or split upon the breakers. We remained seventeen hours in that situation, when ■ last the sea growing a little less boisterous, I proposed getting forward ■ a quick rate, so ■ ■ gain the mouth of the Nile. The sailors were not much pleased ■ my plan ; but I ■ seconded by the ensign who commanded the boat, and who ■ ■ young ■ full of energy and intrepidity. The first billow nearly submerged us. One more effort was necessary ; and while the sailors, pale ■ death, continued rowing with vigour, one of my travelling companions, ■ officer 'in the *guides*, fell on his knees and began the Lord's Prayer, of which he did not omit ■ single word. When the danger ■ over, his courage returned, and ashamed of ■ ■ he could ■ himself ■ prehend, ■ whispered to ■ "I am ■ thirty-eight years old, and from my sixth year I never ■ ■ prayer in my ■ I ■ ■

ceive how I recollect that one ; and I do declare that at the present moment I could not be able to repeat a single word of it." This was nevertheless one of the bravest of the Egyptian army. I think he died a general of brigade in Spain.

At Rosetta I found that the commander, Bidon Julien, knew nothing about the army than Admiral Brueys did. "I am however easy," he said to me. "The inhabitants are perplexed, and that is a sure sign that we are victorious. You have nothing to fear on the Nile : I shall give you an armed vessel to carry you to Cairo, of which place the army must by this time have taken possession." The day after I embarked on the Nile, I met Arzighi, (now Duke of Padua,) who had come from Cairo, and was conveying to the Admiral an account of our victories, with the reiterated order to go to Corfu. When I told the General-in-chief that the English still at Aboukir, he showed signs of great ill-humour ; and fearing that Arzighi might differ

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ficulties in his way, [not] join the Admiral quick enough, [left] off that very night his aide-de-camp, Julien, with fresh orders. The unfortunate youth [went] down the Nile in a djerme, escorted by a dozen soldiers. His want of experience was the cause of his death. Having entered the branch of Alexandria, he thought he might rest for the night; but the Arabs murdered him and his escort. In him General Bonaparte lost one of the best officers of his staff, and a most excellent friend.

The English were above a fortnight without showing themselves; and Arrighi found the Admiral, who was convinced that they had counted the number of his ships, and did not dare to engage. It was not until the first of August that Nelson appeared off Alexandria with fourteen ships of the line and several frigates. The particulars of the battle, which however I was not present, are well known and require my repeating here.

Although but a few days had elapsed since the arrival of the General-in-chief in Cairo,

had been preceded, as ~~it~~ was everywhere else, by such strict orders and excellent administration, that the soldiers, and in general all the French, were accustomed to walk through the metropolis and its environs without feeling the slightest uneasiness. The city of Cairo presented a curious spectacle to the Europeans who saw it for the first time. I had landed at Boulack on the Nile, at a great distance from the square of El Bekir, where General Bonaparte lived. The narrow streets of the city were filled with camels fastened to one another in long rows, carrying all sorts of goods on their backs, and led by a single man. The inhabitants passed through the small vacant spaces with slow gravity and with their pipes in their mouths; while our soldiers, mounted on donkeys, galloped cheerfully, sliding between the camels and bursting into ~~much~~ of laughter. A shocking dust and an offensive smell of mummies suffocated us. Here and there, a few grave Mussulmans, seated on their mules, opened themselves a passage by the ~~all~~

of their stick-bearers, who struck all that opposed them, and — the — who did not — — their approach. Beggars, carefully hiding their faces, and little inclined to discover what ours show, pestered the passers by with their singular cries, and seemed to be soliciting alms with angry imprecations.

Mourad Bey, after the battle of the Pyramids, had sought refuge in Upper Egypt. He had still with him several thousand Mamelukes. His influence over people — considerable ; and — it might prove dangerous, the General-in-chief, while he — preparing against him the expedition entrusted to Desaix, tried to gain him over by secret negotiations. His legitimate wife and his whole harem remained — Cairo. Bonaparte sent Eugene Beauharnais to the wife with his compliments, and the assurance that she had nothing to fear. — received Eugene politely, and in return for the presents the General-in-chief — — her, she gave him her husband's beautiful shawl — some of — arms. — the respect shown to

the wife of Mourad Bey had no effect on ~~that~~ chief. The vigour and talent of General Desaix, and ~~the~~ courage of our troops, who more than once forced him to retire to the Oasis, and reduced his followers ~~to~~ a few faithful friends, could not persuade ~~that~~ intrepid leader ~~to~~ lend an ear to any arrangement whatever; and it ~~was~~ not until after two years' conflict ~~and~~ adversity ~~that~~ he at last consented to come ~~to~~ an understanding with the head of the French army; but at that time General Bonaparte ~~had~~ already left Egypt.

It had been supposed that in ~~a~~ fruitful ~~a~~ country all the wealth of the East would be accumulated. Instead of that, ~~we~~ found misery everywhere. The government of the Mamelukes was devoid of either common sense ~~or~~ moderation. Besides the *miri* and another tax which the people of Egypt ~~were~~ obliged to pay to ~~the~~ Grand Seignior, they ~~were~~ ~~subjected~~ to ~~various~~ imposts, which ~~the~~ caprice and tyranny of ~~the~~ subordinate ~~officials~~ were perpetually inventing. The Beys, who ~~were~~ ~~the~~ chiefs of

the Mamelukes, the [redacted] quartered in the [redacted] provinces, and [redacted] the private horse-men who [redacted] sent to maintain order in the villages, thought themselves entitled to impose and levy [redacted] or less heavy. The *fella*k, [redacted] peasant, groaned under the [redacted] of these [redacted] exactions; and if he [redacted] unfortunate enough to have children of either sex that drew the attention of the leaders, they [redacted] taken away from him to satisfy their brutal lust.

One of the first measures of the General-in-chief was to set the people secure in regard to their property; [redacted] make them comprehend the plain and judicious system of taxation about to [redacted] established, and to acquaint them that for the arbitrary laws to which they [redacted] subject under the Mamelukes, would be substituted, in each province, divans composed of the most reputable men, to judge their disputes. These various declarations soon dissipated alarm; and [redacted] had, in fact, no cause to complain of the people during [redacted] months of [redacted] stay in the country.

The Arab tribes were still, however, very dangerous. We had succeeded in making peace with some of them ; but several others, more numerous and better armed, continued frequently to interrupt our communications and plunder our convoys, by land as well as on the Nile. We were in consequence obliged to organize a system of pursuit, which was followed up with as much energy, that the tribes felt at last convinced that they must either submit or retire to other deserts.

Mourad Bey, who was now in Upper Egypt, gave us no more cause of uneasiness ; but Ibrahim Bey, next to Mourad the most powerful leader of the Mamelukes, had gone forward to meet the caravan returning from Mecca ; and under the pretence of defending it against the French army, he stopped it on its way, and plundered it. He afterwards returned to Egypt by the way of Salahieh, and proclaimed his intention of attacking the French army from that side. General Regnier, whom I accompanied on that ill-fated expedition, had not

much trouble with the Arabs and Mamelukes of the vanguard ; but he was conscious that his small division would ■■■ be destroyed if ■■■ one ■■■ to his assistance. I went to acquaint the General-in-chief with this circumstance, who immediately flew to help him, ■■■ the head of some regiments of cavalry which ■■■ had succeeded in mounting with the horses ■■■ found in Lower Egypt. The Mamelukes ■■■ beaten at Salahieb, from which place the battle took its ■■■ It ■■■ then that the General-in-chief learned the disaster of ■■■ fleet ■■■ Abou-kir. The ■■■ ■■■ brought to him by an aide-de-camp of General Kleber. The officer's horse being unable to ■■■ any farther, he had written some particulars in ■■■ open letter, which I found in the hands of a peasant to whom he had entrusted it. I read the letter, and advancing towards the General-in-chief, I begged him to withdraw for ■■■ moment from the group of ■■■ officers which surrounded him. I then gave him the note. When he had read it he ■■■ ■■■ me, " You know ■■■ contents; keep ■■■

secret." We returned ■ Belbeysa, where ■■ found breakfast ■■ table. Every body was in good spirits, and particularly the troops, who had retaken from the Mamelukes the spoil of the caravan. They were going to sell the goods for almost nothing; but the General-in-chief forbade the officers to buy any of them there, and ordered the soldiers to dispose of them on their return ■ Cairo. All of ■ sudden, while breakfasting, the General-in-chief said ■ his guests: "It seems, you like this country: that is very lucky, for ■■ have ■■ no fleet to carry us back to Europe." He then acquainted them with the particulars of the battle of Aboukir, and they ■■ listened ■ with ■ much earnestness ■ the General ■■ related them. Every one ■■ appeared reconciled to the event, and nobody talked any more of it.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Ibrahim Bey ■■■■■ Syria.—Project of an expedition ■■■■■ Syria.—Revolt ■■■ Cairo.—Death of Col. Sulkowski, Aide-de-camp ■■■■■ General-in-chief.—Mission of M. de Beauchamp.—The plague ■■■ Alexandria.—Expedition ■■■ of administering justice adopted by the ■■■■■ Cairo.

**IBRAHIM BEY** had retired to Syria, and there ■■■ no doubt but he would organize in that country considerable bodies of irregular troops which would disturb our frontiers. The General-in-chief had also learned that the ■■■■■ of the invasion of Egypt ■■■ been received with great displeasure at Constantinople.

The English, enraged at the conquest of Malta, and sensible of the important consequences of the occupation of Egypt to their establishments in India, pressed the Turks to

go ■■■ The General-in-chief ■■■ there-  
fore reason to expect that he would not only  
■■■ continually harassed by Ibrahim Bey, but  
also that the English would make themselves  
masters of the ports of Syria. He took a  
resolution to be beforehand with them ; but it  
was ■■■ of all necessary to know what might  
be the dispositions of the Pacha who command-  
ed ■■■ Syria. The name of the Pacha for  
the time being, was Djezzar, a man of a very  
energetic character, who had maintained him-  
self for several years in ■■■ post, in spite of the  
Sultan himself, and who enforced obedience by  
the terror his cruelties inspired. The General-  
in-chief sent to him ■■■ young Frenchman, just  
come home from Mascata with the Consul  
Beauchamp, and who was very well acquaint-  
■■■ with the Arabic language. Djezzar ■■■  
an ambiguous answer, which served to ■■■  
vince General Bonaparte, that it would be  
necessary ■■■ support ■■■ declarations with ■■■  
army. But ■■■ incident occurred, which  
threatened the expedition ■■■ an indefinite

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delay. While perfect tranquillity seemed to prevail in Cairo and its outakirts, a rebellion, without any apparent cause, suddenly broke out at one of the gates of the city.

A number of wounded, who had been at the battle of Salahieh, and some invalids of the division of Regnier, filling above twenty transports, were murdered, and the rebellion quickly spread through the city like wildfire. General Dupuis, commander of the fortress, immediately mounted his horse, with all the men he could bring together; but he was assassinated, with several of his companions. To oppose the rebels any longer in the streets was not to be thought of. Means were however found to restrain them, though they had made themselves masters of one of the largest mosques in the town. It was then resolved to fire on them from the citadel. The bombs and howitzers made great havoc among them; after which, two battalions of infantry assaulted the mosque, where all who were killed or taken prisoners. This rebellion last-

ed [redacted] days, and did not occasion any great loss [redacted] the army; but the General-in-chief [redacted] [redacted] of his best aides-de-camp. Colonel Sulkowski had already been wounded [redacted] Alex. andria, [redacted] also [redacted] the battle of Salahieh, and was [redacted] yet completely recovered, when, [redacted] General-in-chief wishing to send [redacted] offi- [redacted] to reconnoitre out of the city, he [redacted] himself, pretending that it [redacted] his turn to march, and that his wound was entirely healed. Accompanied by fifteen guides, he [redacted] crossing that part of the Desert that separates the town of Cairo from the citadel, when [redacted] a troop of Arabs, that had concealed themselves behind a number of small hillocks, suddenly rushed upon him. He [redacted] killed, with the greatest part of his escort; for only two men returned to Cairo, where they brought the fatal tidings. I [redacted] not then in Cairo.\* By order of the General-in-chief, I was accompanying General Andre- [redacted] on [redacted] expedition [redacted] the [redacted] Mensale and Peluse. We [redacted] completely ignorant of what

\* [redacted] Appendix.

— going forward in the capital; and I — sailing leisurely up the Nile, when I learned that at Mansoura, — Lamansour, the hospital, containing our sick and wounded, with a detachment of soldiers, had been surprised, and all the men butchered without mercy. The rebellion of Cairo had reached the two banks of the river, and more particularly the branch of Damietta. Some revolted villages — burned to make — example. The General-in-chief was very desirous to know whether the inhabitants of Mansoura had retained any — brance of their victorious resistance, when, under the reign of St. Louis, they had been so imprudently attacked by the Count d'Artois. But it appeared, from all inquiries, that these Egyptians — acquainted neither with the name of St. Louis, — with the gallant actions that had illustrated their ancestors.

In the month of December 1798, the General-in-chief — not yet received any — from the Directory. The political object of the expedition — experienced great impedi-

■ by the loss of the fleet. It ■■■ longer to be hoped we should ■■■ be able to lead the army ■ India, the superiority of the English being ■■■ concentrated on the ■ All that remained therefore ■ present to be done ■■■ profit by ■■■ situation, to bring back the Turks to their old sentiments of friendship for the French, and detach them from the English, ■ at least to prevent the two Emperors of Austria and Russia from concerting with each other the total dismembering of the Ottoman empire. The General-in-chief thought himself authorized to suppose that M. de Talleyrand, who had been appointed French Ambassador in Constantinople, had really departed for that metropolis, and had succeeded in maintaining his post there. In those circumstances it ■■■ important to correspond with him, and the best way appeared to be, to send M. Beauchamp to Constantinople; but it was necessary for him to escape the watchful eyes of the English cruis-■■■ General Bonaparte contrived, for that purpose, the following plan. The Turkish caravella

which [REDACTED] over to bring the Sultan the yearly tribute from Egypt, [REDACTED] then riding [REDACTED] anchor in the port of Alexandria. The captain of that vessel [REDACTED] man respected in his country, and he had with him his two [REDACTED]. He received [REDACTED] order to carry M. Beauchamp to Constantinople, and to leave one of his [REDACTED] in Alexandria [REDACTED] an hostage for the safe return of that gentleman to Egypt. The ostensible commission of the Consul was to require the release of all the Frenchmen who [REDACTED] detained in Syria, whether merchants or consular agents, and also of such military as had been made prisoners either in coming to Egypt [REDACTED] in returning to France. He was, in the [REDACTED] of his negotiation with the Grand Vizier, to insinuate that France would abandon Egypt, and make [REDACTED] treaty of friendship with Turkey, [REDACTED] the latter consented to give up all her [REDACTED] nections with England; in which case, the French troops would join those of the Sultan, either [REDACTED] put [REDACTED] end [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] with the two Emperors by one [REDACTED] treaty, or to

give him support, if peace should not take place.

Unfortunately, M. Beauchamp ■■■ discovered by the English, and sent ■■■ the Seven Towers ■■■ Constantinople.

It ■■■ about this time that the plague began its ravages at Alexandria. I ■■■ ordered to accompany M. Beauchamp to that place, that I might superintend the preparations for his departure,\* and make a report to the General-in-chief ■■■ the state of the fortifications there. When I arrived, I found General Marmont commanding the province and the whole ■■■ shore ■■■ far ■■■ Rosetta. "You arrive at an ■■■ fortunate moment," he said : "the plague has broken out yesterday among our troops. It appears that the order given on ■■■ arrival ■■■ Alexandria, to burn the clothes of the persons who had died of the contagion, ■■■ been negligently executed. Some of the inhabitants have worn them again ; and our troops being in close connexion with them, the contact ■■■ spread

\* See Appendix.

the plague among the French, and I have been assured that it cannot fail soon to break out also among the Turks. Yesterday four Frenchmen died ; there were eight sick to-day, who will probably be numbered with the dead to-morrow.

All possible precautions had already been taken by General Marmont : the troops were lodged under tents, and all communication betwixt them and the inhabitants was prohibited. The most rigorous orders had also been issued, forbidding the battalions to which the sick belonged, to hold any connexion with the others ; but the carelessness of the soldiers destroyed all the good effects of these measures. They looked upon the plague as an enemy it was their duty to challenge ; and the communication of the soldiers with each other continued, notwithstanding the severest discipline. My orders were to order Commissary Michaud from Rosetta to Alexandria : he came with a suite of persons, and lodged with General Marmont's. In the space of two days he was the only survivor of those he brought

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with him. One of [REDACTED] secretaries, named Renaud, [REDACTED] the hotel to go and sign [REDACTED] orders [REDACTED] the lodgings [REDACTED] master had taken in the city. The paper on which he wrote sufficed to communicate the disease to his blood. The next morning he sent word that he [REDACTED] not very well, and could not breakfast at the General's table. We went immediately to [REDACTED] him. He [REDACTED] still up; but his features already bore all the marks of the fatal malady: his eye glared, his tongue faltered, he had a profuse cold perspiration, and pains in his limbs. The physician who was called to visit him, just appeared at the door of his room, with a thick long stick in his hand. After having looked [REDACTED] him for [REDACTED] moment, he ordered hot water to be placed before him, and retired without administering any other remedy. The unfortunate young man begged [REDACTED] to get him ink and paper, that he might write to [REDACTED] family. In the afternoon he expired in great agony; so that [REDACTED] illness did not last above fifteen hours.

The contagion soon assumed a ~~more~~ terrible

aspect. All the physicians died successively ; the ■■■■■ of the infirmaries went away, and it ■■■■■ longer possible to enter the hospitals with impunity. We were obliged to take Turks to ■■■■■ the sick, and to pay a very great price for their services ; while the superintendence ■■■■■ them was ■■■■■ relaxed, ■■■■■ account of the danger with which it ■■■■■ accompanied, that the most flagrant misconduct ■■■■■ not to be prevented. At General Marmont's lodgings we had been obliged to do without table-cloths ■■■■■ sheets ; all our clothes were fumigated ; the out-door servants had ■■■■■ connexion with those of the interior. The carriage gateway ■■■■■ nailed up ; while every thing that ■■■■■ brought to the house from out of doors, and ■■■■■ the meat, ■■■■■ thrown through a wicket into a tub of water. With a view to avoid the infection among us, ■■■■■ divided ourselves into two brigades ; and during the night ■■■■■ pursued each other from ■■■■■ to room, throwing water in ■■■■■ faces, which ■■■■■ the only ammunition we possessed. Among the few soldiers who consented

In nurse the sick, there was a gunner who had been in Constantinople, where he pretended that he had escaped the plague. According to his assertion, he possessed an infallible preservative against the infection, which was, to keep his face and hands perpetually moistened with water. But it was discovered that he washed his hands in oil. Indeed, it had been observed in Cairo, that the lamp-lighters never caught the plague. After remaining six weeks in the unfortunate city of Alexandria, I received from the General-in-chief an order to return to Cairo, that I might accompany him in his campaign to Syria.\*

The Arabs of the province of Damanhour, being well acquainted with the situation of our troops at Alexandria, took advantage of it to resume their depredations. I set off with an escort of thirty men, and two small guns which we had taken at Malta, and which General Marceau was kind enough to entrust to me, to increase my slender means of defence; but I was

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all the pedlars in the streets, and those whose conscience [not quite clear] immediately disappeared. In the Rue du Petit Thouars, he stopped facing a coffee-house; [his stick-bearer, who walked before him, dragged along by force a man, to whom he addressed [questions. The poor fellow answered in great confusion. After reflecting for a moment, the Cadi slowly made a horizontal motion with his right-hand, and we gravely continued [walk. The gesture of the Cadi appeared singular to me. When we had got thirty steps farther, I turned round, and seeing a group of persons assembled before the coffee-house, I spurred my horse, and perceived with horror a mutilated corpse, and the executioner calmly putting a human head into his bag. "What's the meaning of this?" said I to the Cadi.—"Oh," answered he coolly, "that fellow had a share in the rebellion of Cairo, and escaped my vengeance." I insisted on his putting the whole affair regularly down in writing, to be communicated to the General-in-chief. In all

probability the unfortunate [redacted] guilty; but I am convinced, that my presence, and the wish to give an example of [redacted] justice, were the real causes of his death. For the rest, executions of this sort [redacted] not [redacted]. The Cadi [redacted] went out but accompanied by the hang-[redacted]. The smallest infraction of the police laws [redacted] punished by blows [redacted] the soles of the feet,—a punishment from which the women themselves [redacted] not exempted.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

The General's motives for his Expedition ■ Syria.—Regnier.—Kleber.—Bon.—Lannes.—Murat.—Departure of the Expedition.—Taking of El Arisch.—Taking of Jaffa.—The General-in-chief's presence of mind.—The Army arrives before St. John of Acre.—Loss of the Flotilla ■veying ■■■ for the Siege.

BEFORE ■■■ enter Syria, I think it will be well to give an account of the General's motives for that expedition.

It ■■■ absolutely necessary to ensure the conquest of Egypt by that of Syria, and especially by the possession of the maritime places.

The two countries ■■■ dependent on each other, ■■■ well in regard to natural productions, as political connection.

Egypt has no wood, ■■■ ■■■ part of Syria ■■■ covered with forests. ■■■ mutual exchanges

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extend ■■■ to many other productions. The Desert alone separates the two countries, and the necessity of establishing ■■■ two forts ■ the entrance of the Desert is indispensable for the possession of Egypt.

To these general considerations, ■ all times equally in force, must be added ■ particular circumstances which had just been created by policy.

In declaring war against France the Sultan would launch out against us the whole armed population of Syria. The Pacha who commanded in that province, had ■ personal interest in showing himself ■ foe: he would effect his reconciliation with the Porte by the services he might render her; he would draw a great deal of money out of the English, and find war the ■■■ of subduing, ■ at least removing, Ibrahim Bey, whose presence in Syria was disagreeable to him, and caused him ■■■ anxiety.

On the other hand, General Bonaparte wish-■ to deprive the English of the means of com-

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municating with ■■■ disembarking ■■■ an ■■■ tent of coast eighty leagues in length. ■■■ intention ■■■ to make himself master of the maritime places, and fortify them. ■■■ had hopes of drawing over to his party a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Syria, especially the Druses and Maronists, schismatic Mussulmans,\* whose manners ■■■ at variance with those of the Turks, and who have no other connexion with them but through the enormous taxes they are forced to pay, and the multifarious oppression under which they labour. Finally, he expected by that ■■■ to force the Porte to explain herself openly; for he ■■■ not yet acquainted with the declaration of ■■■ made by the Turks against France. He placed at the head of the expedition General Regnier as commander of the vanguard, and Generals Kleber, Bon, and Lannes, and Murat for the cavalry.

\* Here Count Lavallotte ■■■ made a little mistake. The Maronists are Christians, ■■■ ■■■ Mussulmans.—(Note of ■■■ Translator.)

He left in Egypt General Desaix vigorously pursuing Mourad Bey, and keeping in ■■■ all the provinces of the Upper Nile ■ far as the Cataracts. General Dugua in Cairo commanded the Delta from Rosetta to Damietta. He had under his orders General Lanusse, whose courage and activity were sufficient to maintain peace in all those extensive provinces. The ■■■■■ was favourable for the expedition to Syria, which began in January 1799.

The Desert, which divides Egypt from Syria, is eighty leagues in breadth. In that space of land is found the wells of Katisch, which ■■■■■ enclosed in ■ fort, that the army might not be without water. At two days' march beyond the wells is the fort of El Arisch, which contains better water than Katisch, but of which the enemy had already made himself master. We ■■■■■ forced to besiege it, and it was bravely defended by ■■■■■ Arnauts. They were however constrained to capitulate, after ■ vigorous attack of three days. In the treaty it was stipulated that they should go to Da-

mascus; but the greater number among them threw themselves into Jaffa, of which place they augmented the garrison. We [redacted] obliged in consequence to besiege the town.\* [redacted]

[redacted] taken by storm [redacted] few days after the first attack, and the Arnauts who [redacted] capitulated [redacted] El-Arisch being forced within its walls, were,

\* When General Kleber left El-Arisch, to proceed to Kanjonnes, he [redacted] led astray by his guides, who threw him much too far to the right in the Desert. The General-in-chief followed him, not doubting that General Kleber had crossed the village; and he [redacted] going to enter it, [redacted] corted only by his staff and fifty guides, when two horsemen, who formed the vanguard, came back in full gallop, after having fired two pistols; and we discovered on the other side of the village the camp and cavalry of Abdallah Pasha, who appeared disposed to charge them. The army [redacted] two leagues behind. There [redacted] no possibility of standing against six hundred well-armed enemies, [redacted] of escaping [redacted] they had [redacted] pursued. Fortunately, the General, [redacted] this occasion, showed [redacted] instance of the admirable presence of mind [redacted] possessed. He ordered the commander of the detachment [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] in a single line; the enemy thought [redacted] more [redacted] than they really were; and after [redacted] [redacted] men's deliberation [redacted] cause [redacted] a resolution [redacted] raising [redacted] camp and retreating.

according to the European custom, shot for having violated the treaty. I was not at that time with the General-in-chief, having joined him only the day after the taking of [redacted].

From [REDACTED] the army marched to Caiffa; but the enemy had abandoned that place, though it possessed a fort and strong walls. We [REDACTED] there a small post, and continued our way to St. John of Acre, [REDACTED] which city we arrived [REDACTED] the evening of the 27th of March. While the tents [REDACTED] being pitched, the General-in-chief [REDACTED] surprised to hear at sea a tolerably brisk cannonading. I went by his orders to the shore, and soon perceived that the sound was becoming [REDACTED] distant, so that I feared it might be the announcement of [REDACTED] fatal event.

On entering Syria, General Bonaparte had given orders to Marmont to send him by some brig the ammunition he should want for the sieges of the Syrian towns. Captain Standley, who commanded the frigate which was the head of the expedition, neglected to inquire

whether [redacted] were [redacted] of Jaffa, on the walls of which place [redacted] had [redacted] the Turkish flag flying, to draw in the enemy's ships, which might bring [redacted] provisions, and [redacted] from [redacted]. Standley, persuaded [redacted] were not at Jaffa, went in to St. John of Acre; but Commodore [redacted] Sidney Smith, who [redacted] cruising before the port with a ship and a frigate, gave [redacted] the chase [redacted] took [redacted] part of his vessels. This was the [redacted] of the cannonading we heard; and General Bonaparte [redacted] convinced, [redacted] well as myself, that the army had lost all its siege ammunition. The [redacted] day the army encamped to the north of St. John of Acre, and the General-in-chief stood during several hours [redacted] a height that commands St. John of Acre, [redacted] about half a league distant. The enemy, perceiving the staff, made trial of the skill of their gunners. The bombs fired with [redacted] much nicety, that one of them [redacted] buried [redacted] the ground, three paces from the General, between his two aides-de-camp, Merlin and Beauharnais. Another [redacted] and burst [redacted] two feet from the soil, in [redacted] midst of a group of

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soldiers who [REDACTED] lying down and preparing their breakfast. There [REDACTED] eleven of them, [REDACTED] one survived an instant.

The town of St. John of Acre is situated on the point of a [REDACTED] slip of land, fortified towards the [REDACTED] by batteries and a small light-house, and also protected by some pieces of [REDACTED]. On the land side it was enclosed by a high wall, divided by a tower on which [REDACTED] pieces of ordnance had been placed. The city [REDACTED] surrounded [REDACTED] a considerable distance by gardens, which being [REDACTED] enclosed with hedges of cactus, we had much trouble in repelling the riflemen who harassed us from behind them.

The traveller Volney, whom [REDACTED] had found [REDACTED] accurate in his description of Egypt, asserts that St. John of Acre is not surrounded with ditches. This [REDACTED] proved [REDACTED] in the beginning of the siege. Several officers of engineers confirmed us in [REDACTED] prepossession, [REDACTED] particularly Colonel Sampson, who [REDACTED] wounded in his hand while fighting in a muddy rivulet

he supposed to have been the fosse of the town.

After [redacted] had [redacted] ten days [redacted] the tower I have mentioned, it [redacted] pierced, and the breach appeared large enough to lodge [redacted] miners with an officer of the staff. The troops made [redacted] movement to rush to the foot of the town; but they were suddenly stopped by a ditch fifteen feet broad by ten [redacted] twelve deep, and lined with a good counterscarp. We were, in consequence, forced to establish [redacted] globe of compression to blow it up. The concussion took place, and young Mailly-Chateau-Renaud, [redacted] officer of the staff, received orders to [redacted] the tower with four miners, to remain there during the night, and to pierce it, while the infantry endeavoured [redacted] make themselves masters of the ditch. The intrepid young officer and [redacted] [redacted] executed their orders; but the enemy opened so strong a fire [redacted] our troops, that they [redacted] forced [redacted] abandon the fosse. Mailly and [redacted] gunners [redacted] [redacted] in [redacted] the breach.

The aide-de-camp Duroc [redacted] been sent an

hour before into the ditch, to discover the progress of the breach: a howitzer that burst, wounded him deeply in the thigh, and lamed him. The night falling in, were constrained to give up the attack, and to wait until the arrival of a larger supply of artillery should furnish us with the means of making breaches on all sides; but just at that moment the General-in-chief heard that all his ammunition, all his artillery, sent from Alexandria, had been captured by Sir Sidney Smith; while at the same time we learned the secret of the astonishing skill of the Turkish gunners.

When, a few years before the period I am speaking of, General Aubert Dubayet was sent by the French Government to Constantinople as ambassador, he obtained leave to take with him a company of light artillery, to teach the Turks those parts of gunnery they were unacquainted with, and especially that concerned letting off of bombs. This company had returned to France, part of them to the besieging army, but their pupils

— in the fortress; so that Turkish bombardiers, instructed by French troops, — sending us — projectiles, of which they possessed about eighteen hundred, with four mortars.

The trenches had not been regularly made, and the consequence of that neglect was that the soldiers, not being sufficiently covered, fell victims to — precipitation. General Caffarelli, commander of the engineers of the army, — himself struck by a bullet on his left elbow, and he lost his arm. He had already suffered the loss of a leg several years before, during the — of Jourdan.

The Turks were wonderfully good soldiers behind a wall: we had more than one instance of that during the whole siege of St. John of Acre. It was almost impossible for a Frenchman to show himself uncovered without being struck. The terrible fire of the besieged was supported by the batteries of Sir Sidney's ship Theseus, and a frigate.

The labours of the siege grew more

complicated. Sir Sidney Smith had with him a Frenchman named Philippeaux, an emigrant, formerly a schoolfellow of General Bonaparte, and an officer of engineers. He saw two great doubts beyond the fosse, the batteries of which soon ranged along the branches of our trenches, and forced us to begin new works to change their direction.\*

The field-pieces being too weak to destroy the tower, we had            to mining; but

I think I have mentioned, that among the persons St. John of Acre to carry proposals of peace to Djezzar Pacha, a young man, named Mailly de Château-Renaud, who had returned from Macata with Beauchamp. This unfortunate young man was locked up in the lighthouse at Acre, with about four hundred Christians he had collected on the coast of Syria. The day after the failure of the first storm, soldiers who were in the trenches mentioned General Vial, upon service, that in the sea-side might be seen great numbers bodies rolled like grains of rice or coffee. They looked them, and recognised poor young Chateau-Renaud, who had been strangled during the night. Thus the brothers, who, after years' absence, had been for hours at Cairo, the same John of Acre.

while we were working with great activity  
■ secrecy, ■ continued firing ■ the town.  
More than ■ ■ entertained the hope of  
gaining ■ footing in it and destroying it; but  
it was in vain that our grenadiers and sappers  
endeavoured several times ■ take possession of  
it. The part that looked towards the town  
continued to be occupied by the besieged, who  
■ ceased throwing on our troops howitzers,  
grenades, and even bombs, which made the  
post exceedingly dangerous. Notwithstanding  
all our efforts, the two redoubts constructed by  
the enemy covered ■ with their fire every time  
■ troops crossed the ditch to storm the tower.  
The officer of engineers, Philippeaux, soon  
guessed we ■ making mines, and applied  
himself to destroy those ■ ■ laying ■  
der the ditch. In consequence, ■ the 18th  
Germinal, the enemy made a sortie with ■  
much abruptness and violence, that ■ part of  
our trenches ■ destroyed. The enemy's co-  
lumns were commanded by intelligent English  
officers, ■ of whom reached the ■ ■ of

mine, where he was killed. The [redacted] found on [redacted] informed us that [redacted] was Captain Hatfield, and that he had been the [redacted] in the attack of the Cape of Good Hope. His fall caused [redacted] confusion among the troops he commanded, who [redacted] after, being attacked with energy, hastily returned to the city, leaving a great many killed behind them.

## CHAPTER XX.

Ibrahim Bey re-appears.—Battle of Gafarkala.—Battle of Mount Thabor.—The General-in-chief sleeps in [REDACTED]—Respect of General Bonaparte for religious prejudices.—Death of the interpreter Ventura.—Return to St. John of Acre.—Death of General Caffarelli.—Thirteenth Assault.—We penetrate into the [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] forced out again.—Fourteenth Assault.

WHILE WE WERE fighting under the walls of St. John of Acre, like the crusaders beyond the Jordan, Ibrahim Bey, the bearer of the orders of Djezzar Pacha, assembled all the Arabs of the mountains of Naplouse, and many of the environs of Damasena. The General-in-chief had taken the precaution to make himself master of the bridge of Jacoub and the port of Japhet. The banks of the lake of Tiberias were constantly patrolled by the cavalry of General Murat.

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General Junot had posted himself ■ Loubi, ■ Nazareth. He was soon attacked ■ a short distance from Gafarkala ; and though he ■ only with him ■ part of the 2nd regiment of light infantry, three companies of the 19th, and one hundred and fifty dragoons, he ■■■ not hesitate to dare the charge of above three thousand horsemen. Notwithstanding all the ■■■ of the enemy, he succeeded in reaching the heights of Nazareth without having been routed ; and after eight hours of the most desperate fighting, he forced the enemy to ■ temporary retreat. ■■■ glorious defence made the General-in-chief feel the necessity of terminating, once for all, the annoyance of these dangerous enemies, whose plan ■■■ no less than to ■■■ and attack him under the walls of St. John of Acre. ■■■ General ■■■ against them, and ■ few days afterwards he marched himself to the support of Junot and Kleber with the ■■■ of ■■■ cavalry, the division of General Bon, and eight pieces of artillery. He directed his way ■■■ Fouli. At nine

o'clock in the morning he had reached the heights, whence [ ] prospect [ ] three leagues over the plain bounded by Mount Thabor. From thence we perceived [ ] squares of General Kleber, presenting a [ ] line, rounded and pressed by a [ ] mass of cavalry and infantry, which, at three leagues' distance, had all the appearance of an ant-hill. Sometimes the French line disappeared, and [ ] thought it destroyed; then it showed itself again, covered by its own fire, during [ ] minutes. The General-in-chief began by throwing [ ] cavalry on the heights to his right, where the camp of the Mamelukes had been established, and which we found deserted. He thus formed two squares of infantry, and made [ ] arrangements so as to turn the enemy [ ] a great distance. When he arrived [ ] within half a league of General Kleber, he sent to him General Rampon, [ ] the head of the [ ] half brigade; and as [ ] as that troop had begun [ ] march, he made known his presence by firing a twelve-pounder. The [ ]

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theatrical. At the same instant — General Kleber, quitting a defensive attitude, advancing upon the village of Fouli, of which he made himself master, and the enemy flying in all directions. But on one side the enemy found before him General Rampon, while General Vial had cut off his retreat in the mountains of Naplouse, and General Murat was waiting for him at the bridge of Jacoub. The guides on foot attacked him near Jenin; — that his only resource was to fly behind Mount Thabor, from whence, during the night, he reached Elmekanieh, and further up the Jordan, where a great number were drowned in attempting to cross the river.

After the battle the General-in-chief went to sleep at Nazareth. This small place is situated a good way within the mountains, in a very picturesque situation, between two groves, one of sycamore and the other of date-trees: the chief part of the inhabitants are Christians. Bonaparte entered the village, stopped near an ancient fountain, where a considerable

number of cattle — drinking. The — of the village stood there waiting for the General-in-chief: the whole scene — to memory the patriarchal times so beautifully — in the Bible. The French — received with great demonstrations of joy, and General Bonaparte went with his — to pass the night — the — of Nazareth.

This convent — evidently built in the time of the Crusades: the edifice is not very large. Next morning the General-in-chief asked the Superior to conduct him to the church, which resembles our village churches, and contains nothing remarkable but the chapel, which was once, they say, the bed-chamber of the Virgin Mary. It — below the chief altar, and a few very broad steps descend to it. An altar fills — place of the bed; and being cut out of the rock, it is — more than — in height. The Superior, who — a Spaniard, but spoke very good Italian, made — observe on the left — of the — a pillar of black marble, the — of which touched the ceiling, — its basement was

broken off ■ feet from ■ ground, which made it appear suspended. The Prior told us in the gravest ■ possible, that when the Angel Gabriel ■ announce to the Virgin her glorious and holy destination, he touched the pillar with his heel and broke it in two. We burst out a-laughing; but General Bonaparte, looking severely ■ us, made ■ our gravity. Along the cloisters ■ lying about thirty men who ■ been wounded on the preceding day; several of them had just expired, and these latter had nearly all received from the monks the last comforts of religion. This was probably done at the instigation of these pious cenobites; for, ■ that period, the French troops were very foreign to any religious feeling. Neither the aspect of the country wherein they fought, ■ the ■ of most of those places which ■ been familiar to them during their infancy, (nearly all of them being born between the years 1775 and 1780,) seemed capable of recalling ■ their memory the sentiments and recollections of their youth.

At Nazareth we lost a man who had been useful to General Bonaparte and the army; namely, ■■■ Venture, first interpreter to the General-in-chief. This old ■■■ had passed all his ■■■ in the East, and ■■■ wandering life had produced a strange mixture of nations in his family ; his wife being a Greek, ■■■ daughter an Egyptian, ■■■ his son-in-law a Pole.\* His ■■■ very much regretted, but his place was adequately filled up by M. Jaubert, his pupil, who, notwithstanding his numerous and perilous voyages, still lives for his friends and the sciences.

We returned to St. John of Acre, and ■■■ our arrival before the town the General-in-chief

\* I ■■■ present ■■■ Venture's departure from Paris. He travelled in the ■■■ coach with Colonel Sulkowsky. ■■■ wife ■■■ daughter ■■■ bathed in tears, convinced by I know not what omen, that neither of them would ■■■ back. After ■■■ hour's grief they began to be comforted, when the ■■■ travellers suddenly re-appeared. Their coach had broken down near ■■■ barrier. I expected fresh lamentations ; but, to my great astonishment, they ■■■ ■■■ greatest joy ■■■ the accident that had occurred ; and for ■■■ same ■■■ their grief was so much stronger when they ■■■ ■■■ their death.

finally learned that Rear-Admiral Duperrie had put on shore ■ ■ three four-and-twenty, and six eighteen pounders, and the necessary ammunition. The works of the mine ■ ■ continued, and ■ the 5th Floreal it ■ ■ decided to spring it. All the batteries began to play upon ■ enemy, in order to deceive him, and fire ■ ■ to the mine; but ■ vault that existed in the tower presented a line of slight resistance. One side only ■ ■ destroyed: it remained, however, in a state of breach. This breach ■ ■ as difficult to reach ■ it had been before. We ■ ■ therefore obliged to begin battering afresh the curtain and the tower. The attack of the 6th was ■ ■ murderous than the former, and still without success. Four hundred men remained during six hours in the breach that looked towards the ditch; the enemy, posted on the reverse, continued throwing incessantly burning projectiles into the midst of that mass of men, who were unable to advance, and still would not ■ ■ to ■ down. At last the break of day rendered

visible the most [REDACTED] disorder, and a position which could not possibly be maintained ; we [REDACTED] again obliged to abandon [REDACTED] tower. We had lost an enormous number of officers, especially among the engineers : General Caffarelli, who had the command of the engineers, showed some signs of recovery ; but he every day asked why his comrades [REDACTED] longer to [REDACTED] him. Though the utmost care [REDACTED] taken to conceal from him the fatal [REDACTED] of their death, grief and anxiety augmented [REDACTED] sufferings. He sometimes said to me, " It was I who seduced,—I who led on all those hopeful young men. Alas ! that they should have fallen before such a wretched fortress ?" Finally, the death of young Say, the chief of [REDACTED] staff, which could not be kept a secret from him, threw him into a deep melancholy, [REDACTED] he died [REDACTED] after.

He [REDACTED] not regretted by the army alone. To extensive information, Caffarelli added great feeling and a mildness of disposition, that will make his memory dear to [REDACTED] those who

knew him. [He] would certainly have [had] a very important part under the Empire; for General Bonaparte had great esteem and [had] consideration for him.

The army had already stormed the city twelve times, and withstood twenty-six sorties, when General Kleber and his division [had] recalled to the camp. A [large] mine had been opened, and we [had] already [reached] the point of charging it, when the enemy once [had] given vent to it: notwithstanding all our efforts, he reached the branch; so that we were obliged to make [the] miners retire precipitately out of the mine, and stop it up by explosion. This circumstance [was] the [most] fatal, [and] by it [we] lost [all] hopes of making ourselves masters of the town by that [time]. We had [also] return [ed] cannonading, which also speedily relaxed, the gunpowder [not] expected from Gaza not having arrived. On the next day, however, [we] received a sufficient quantity: the courage of the soldiers increased; and when they [heard] [that] the division of Kleber was coming,

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the whole camp went to meet it, with congratulations and prophecies that the honour of taking the town would belong to the ■■■■■  
The batteries had destroyed ■ great part of the curtain, which presented ■ space wide enough ■ mount for ■ assault. The grenadiers of Kleber's division received that honourable though perilous commission; but just as they ■ descending into the ditch in order to cross it, the enemy opened ■ their flank ■ tremen-  
dous fire from the two sides. The grenadiers, however, penetrated into the town; but when there, they ■ fired upon from all the sides of a large square, and from the Palace of Djez-  
■■■■■ The difficulty of climbing up the breach prevented ■■■■■ soldiers from rushing easily into ■■■■■ circle: the bravest among them ■■■■■ killed; the rest hesitated. It became necessary ■■■■■ the troops back into the trenches.

The General-in-chief could not resolve to order the fourteenth assault; but the grenadiers and most of the officers who had already been ■■■■■ town, insisted ■■■■■ pressing ■ manner

for leave to go up once more, that the General-in-chief, after having got the breach widened, let them advance again. General Kleber placed himself on the [redacted] of the fosse, where, sword in hand, he animated his troops with his stentorian voice, amidst the dead and the dying. On looking on that gigantic figure, a whole head taller than the [redacted] of the soldiers, one might have taken him for [redacted] of the heroes of Homer. The noise and smoke of the cannon,—the cries of the soldiers,—the roaring of the Turks,—our troops rushing on the enemy, made our hearts beat with enthusiasm. Nobody doubted but the town would be taken; when suddenly the column stopped. General Bonaparte had placed himself in the breach battery, to examine [redacted] the movements of the army. He had fixed his glass between the fascines of the battery, when a ball from the town struck the superior fascine; and the General-in-chief fell into the [redacted] of General Berthier. We thought him killed; but fortunately he had not been touched: his fall was only [redacted] effect of the

commotion of the air. In vain General Berthier pressed him to retire: he received one of those harsh and dry replies, after which no one dared insist. While ■■■ were examining the singular absence of ■■■ motion on the part of the troops, ■ bullet entered the head of young Arrighi, who was standing between the General-in-chief and ■■■ Some others ■■■ killed afterwards, General Bonaparte still refusing to retire. At last ■ learned what ■■■ the obstacle that prevented the troops from advancing. In the interval between the two assaults, the enemy had filled up a wide ditch with all sorts of inflammable matter, ■ that repeated and terrible explosions killed all those that came ■■■ it. It was too broad to be crossed: there were ■■■ means of turning it; and our soldiers stood before that insurmountable obstacle, enraged ■■■ not being able to advance, and ■■■ resolved not to ■■■ back. Several generals ■■■ wounded, and ■ great number of officers and soldiers killed. We lost the General of division, Bon, the Ad-jutant-general Fouler, ■■■ Croisier, Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief.

To continue the siege would have been paying too dearly for the conquest of a city already ravaged by the plague. The disease had been brought to the camp by the second light demi-brigade that had caught it at Damietta. The army had also found it at Jaffa; and though it was not marked here by those terrible symptoms it had shown at Alexandria, and went under the name of a benign plague, it still swept away many victims, and would undoubtedly have cost us more men still, if we had taken St. John of Acre.

General Bonaparte was convinced that that fever was really the plague; the Physician-in-chief, Desgenettes, alleged, on the contrary, that it was nothing more than a common fever. His opinion and arguments served to tranquillize the soldiers; but they had one effect,—that of disposing them to neglect the caution necessary in all contagious diseases. He wished, however, to add practical demonstration to his arguments by inoculating himself with the plague. In the middle of the hospital, and in the presence of all the sick, he

plunged a lancet into the bubo of one of the patients, and pricked himself with it in his [REDACTED] side. This act, which was the more courageous, [REDACTED] he afterwards acknowledged that the [REDACTED] had really all the characteristics of the plague, excited the admiration of the whole army, and insured [REDACTED] the physician lasting glory with posterity.

## CHAPTER XXI.

General-in-chief resolves to return to Egypt.—The wounded sent away.—General Bonaparte's violence of temper.—Pretended poisoning of the wounded.—Return to Jaffa.—The infected.—Instance of humanity in the General.—Return to the Capital of Lower Egypt.—Judgment on the Syrian Campaign.—Landing of the Turks.—Battle of Aboukir.—Departure for Europe.—Arrival in Corsica.

THE General-in-chief formed the resolution of returning to Egypt. The favourable season for landing approached, and he had received advice that the English, united with the Turks, were attempting in Lower Egypt. Measures were immediately taken for sending away the sick, and provisioning El Arisch and Cattisch. All the posts were drawn back, and in the night of departure the brigade that was on service in the trenches gradually evacuated

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artillery, and only set themselves the next day, protecting all they had before them, and protected in their turn by the cavalry. The invalids, who were eighteen hundred in number, and who had all been wounded by fire-arms, were placed in the centre of the divisions to which they belonged; and there was no want of transport, all the mules, horses, and even all the asses, which the soldiers had in store when they came to Syria, to carry water and provisions, served, on our return, to bear the wounded. But when they arrived at Jaffa, the soldiers, seeing before them the terrible Desert, and aware of what they must suffer in crossing it without water, began first to complain, and then broke out into mutiny. It was on this occasion that General Bonaparte gave up all his horses, without keeping one for his private use. The Master of his stables having had the imprudence to supply him in favour of the beloved mare of the General, he put himself in such a passion, that for the first time in my life I saw him strike a man.

In his rage he went up ■ him, and whipped him ■ the body.

I ■ here say ■ few words on ■ odious imputation made long since against General Bonaparte,—I mean, the pretended poisoning of the soldiers sick of the plague.

It is ■ contrary to truth that General Bonaparte proposed to poison the unfortunate men, that M. Larry, first surgeon to the army, ■ ceased to pronounce it ■ atrocious calumny; and he several times, in the last fifteen years, pressed M. Desgenettes to declare publicly with him the fact through the medium of the press. The latter, having been ill-used by the King's government, recoiled probably ■ the thought of ■ declaration which might make his situation ■■■■■ painful. It is, besides, impossible to ■■■■■ any person to whom the proposal ■■■■■ have been made. Finally, the calumny was spread by the English while they were in Egypt, and propagated by ■ writing of Sir Robert Wilson, who was then extremely young, and who in maturer

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[REDACTED] has openly declared that he [REDACTED] been mistaken.\*

When, in our return from St. John of Acre, we stopped at Jaffa, where the plague had ceased its ravages, I received from the General-in-chief [REDACTED] order to go through the numerous gardens that surround the town, and where a sort of Lazaretto had been established for the sick, that we might take along with [REDACTED] all that were not too ill to follow the army. I found five [REDACTED] six poor soldiers lying beneath the trees: when they [REDACTED] me, they cried out, "Pray, Commander, take [REDACTED] with you! We [REDACTED] able to bear the march." I replied, "Try to get up; endeavour to walk." But all [REDACTED] symptoms of the plague [REDACTED] already evident. Not [REDACTED] of them could rise, and I [REDACTED] obliged to leave them, for no soldier would have lent them his aid. I went and made my report to General Bonaparte, who [REDACTED] walking on the sea-shore. He listened to [REDACTED] without stopping, and [REDACTED] came up to a young horseman, who

\* [REDACTED] the Memoirs of Bourrienne.—(*Note of the Translator.*)

also ■ be taken with us, and who ■ ceded in rising from the ground. The General, touched with compassion, ordered one of his guides to give his horse to the poor sick man. Neither the authority of the General, nor the fear of punishment, was sufficient to enforce obedience. The Colonel of the Guides was obliged to go up to him, and promise him in ■ whisper ■ great deal of money, which motive ■ the only one by which he ■ brought to a decision; and even then the Colonel was forced to use the greatest vigilance lest the sick man should be thrown from his horse. I believe he remained ■ El Arisch, and I do not know what became of him. As for the poor soldiers I mentioned, it is to be hoped they died in the course of the night, ■ ■ least the following day, so ■ to have escaped from the cruel death the Arabs prepared for all those who fell into their hands. I feel ■ remorse for my conduct ■ that occasion. All I had ■ of the plague at Alexandria had convinced me that it ■ a fatal humanity that

induces people ■ come in ■■■ with the infected, when they are once arrived ■■■ stage of the disease. Nevertheless, I cannot think of those unfortunate ■■■ without pain ; and if it ■■■ been possible to ■■■ them, I would have done it.

The army carried with it eighteen hundred wounded ■■■ We had succeeded in ■■■ structing about twenty litters for the general officers, such ■ Lannes and Veaux, Duroc and Croisier : the two latter were aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief. Croisier died in the Desert. The infected that could not bear a long journey ■■■ deposited at El Arisch, but placed without the fort, under the protection of a detachment of infantry that was to defend them against the attacks of the Arabs. Several of them recovered, and in particular I may ■■■ young Captain Digeon, who commanded the breach battery during the whole siege : he ■■■ a most intrepid officer, and fortune spared him. He ■ now ■ lieutenant-general. We lost very few of ■■■ wounded while crossing the Desert,

and the army made ■■■ great éclat its ■■■  
trance into the capital of Egypt.

This Syrian campaign has been judged with great severity by ■■■ enemies ; and during the reign of the Emperor it ■■■ not allowed to speak impartially of its result. It ■■■ ■■■ doubtlessly indispensable to enter into Syria to repel Ibrahim Bey and the troops which Djezzar Pacha ■■■ preparing to launch against Egypt. The operations were conducted with great skill. The failure of St. John of Acre must only be attributed to some ■■■ circumstances independent of the General-in-chief ; but ■■■ must not therefore conclude with General Berthier, that the French army really gained all the advantages it expected to reap in Syria. We lost in that province three thousand men, several skilful generals and hopeful officers ; and ■■■ ■■■ obliged to abandon the towns ■■■ had taken. In quitting Syria, ■■■ left the country just as it was before we entered it. Barren victories must not be looked upon as real advantages ; and ■■■ General Bonaparte ■■■ remained in Egypt, he

would undoubtedly have beaten the Grand Vizier when he came the following year to drive ■ out of Egypt, and repulsed the English, who had taken Aboukir. But most ■ tainly he could not have begun the campaign of Syria ■ again, having ■ means of receiving supplies from France ; ■ that he would with difficulty have been able to maintain himself ■ years longer in Egypt.

During the campaign of Syria, General Desaix had succeeded in keeping quiet possession of Upper Egypt, and reducing Mourad Bey to the condition of a fugitive. Lower Egypt had been the ■ of many troubles, occasioned by ■ sort of fanatic who styled himself the Angel El Mahadé ; but General Lanusse pursued him with ■ much vigour, that he ■ destroyed the troops he had collected.

The landing season was fast approaching. The General-in-chief did not wish to leave Cairo. He therefore resumed the administration of the country : he busied himself with filling up the vacant places in the army ■



completing the corps. He had posted himself with ■ part of his cavalry ■ the Pyramids, waiting for the accounts General Desaix would transmit him respecting Mourad Bey, whom that general ■ pursuing in his last entrenchment, and who it ■ supposed would throw himself into the Oases that ■ situated at ■ short distance from the Pyramids.

It ■ well-known fact that the great Pyramid had been opened several centuries ago by the Arabs. General Bonaparte resolved to visit the interior of that structure with Messrs. Monge, Berthollet, and Duroc. I only mention this circumstance because his name has been written in the great gallery leading to the chamber called the King's Chamber. He had scarcely ■ out of the Pyramid, when an express sent off by General Marmont, who commanded ■ Alexandria, brought him tidings of the landing of a Turkish army ■ Aboukir, where they had made themselves masters of the great redoubt and of the fort, after having massacred our soldiers that defended them. The attack ■

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quite unexpected, — the Turkish army was — numerous, that General Marmont had not thought — to march against them at the head of — garrison, for fear he might not be able to prevent their disembarking, and might more- — endanger the city of Alexandria, the fortifications of which — not yet completed, and which besides contained all the — possessed in artillery and ammunition.

It was to be expected that after the enemy had taken the fort he would spread about the country and attack either Alexandria or Rosetta. Instead of that, he fortified himself in the peninsula of Aboukir, evidently waiting for Mourad Bey, with whose desperate condition he was not yet acquainted.

General Bonaparte resolved, therefore, to march rapidly against him. The distance from the Pyramid to Aboukir is more than eighty leagues. On the fourth day the army arrived at Alexandria; on the 7th of Thermidor it was encamped within a league of Aboukir, under the orders of the three Generals Lannes and

Lanuase, and Murat for the cavalry. The army was retrenched in front of Aboukir, on the sandy hillocks of which he had made redoubts, and under the protection of the English gun-boats. The force consisted of about seventeen thousand men, with twelve pieces of artillery. The General quickly made his dispositions, and ordered General Dastaneg to attack the enemy's left, which he put to flight after a long resistance. The Turks fled towards the village of Aboukir; but a part of the cavalry, that was in the centre, pursued them, sabred and drove them into the sea. The right of the enemy attacked with equal vigour. The division of Lannes made themselves masters of the redoubt, which being turned by a squadron of cavalry, the Turks had no other resource left but to throw themselves into the sea. It was a horrible sight to contemplate nearly ten thousand men of whom nothing was to be seen but their heads covered with turbans, and who were seeking in vain to reach the English fleet anchored at less than half a league from the

shore. Two thousand men [redacted] sought a refuge on the strand, [redacted] the foot of a rock that covered them. It was impossible to make them comprehend that they might surrender by laying down their [redacted]. We were obliged to kill them all [redacted] a man, but they sold dearly their lives. General Murat [redacted] wounded by a bullet in his head; Guibert, Aide-de-camp to the General-in-chief, was killed, and the corps of engineers, that had already suffered so severely, lost Colonel Cretin, who had succeeded to the post of General Caffarelli. Wounded by two bullets, the Colonel [redacted] lying before the door of a house in the village occupied by the Turks. Eight persons had already been killed or wounded in seeking to get him away. Bertrand, who was [redacted] that time a major of engineers, devoted himself to [redacted] his commander: he rushed into the house, followed by twenty sappers, and succeeded in killing every [redacted] of the Turks; but he was severely wounded, [redacted] Colonel Cretin [redacted] [redacted] survive the injuries he [redacted] suffered.

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After the victory ■■ gained, the fort of Aboukir still remained to be taken. General Lannes, who ■■ not yet recovered from the wounds he had received at St. John of Acre, got the command of the troops that ■■ to invest the place. I ■■ with him. The day after the departure of the General-in-chief, I accompanied General Lannes on a visit to the posts, when ■■ furious sortie of Turkish troops surprised ■■ advanced posts, and the unfortunate General received ■ bullet in his leg. It ■■ the eighth wound he got from fire-arms.

Fortunately the enemy had ■■ water in the fort of Aboukir, so that he surrendered four days after the battle.

During the short stay of the General-in-chief ■■ Aboukir, he had some communications with Sir Sidney Smith, by the medium of his ■■ tary. We had not received for a long time any news from Europe, and the English Commodore took ■ malicious pleasure in acquainting us, by the newspapers, of the situation of the Republic. We learned that the whole ■■

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of Italy — evacuated, that war — waging on the frontiers of Piedmont, and that France — in the most desperate condition. General Bonaparte took great — not to let the army know these dismal accounts; but, from that moment, he resolved to return to Europe, convinced that he alone — capable of repairing the evils the bad government of the Directory — accumulated — the country.

After the surrender of the fort of Aboukir, the defence of which — only lasted four days, General Bonaparte went back to Cairo; but not before he — given secret orders to General Gantheaume, who commanded the marine at Alexandria, to — and provision the two frigates Muiron and Carrère. He then spread the report that he — going to travel to Upper Egypt, but that he would perhaps first take a trip in the Delta. The — of his intended journey put everybody — the alert, in the expectation of receiving his praises. He spent a fortnight in regulating — more the administration of Egypt, provisioning — strong

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places, and writing to the Grand Vizier; and when all his [redacted] duly taken, he went down the Nile again, after having appointed General Kleber to meet him [redacted] Alexandria, that he might deliver [redacted] the command into his hands; but that general not having arrived in time, his despatches [redacted] sent to him; and, at ten o'clock at night, the General-in-chief, accompanied by his staff, and leaving his horses on the shore, embarked on board of the Muiron. He took with him Generals Berthier and Gantheaume, Messrs. Monge and Berthollet, his aides-de-camp, Eugene Beauharnais, Duroc, Merlin, and [redacted] private secretary. In the frigate Carrère went Generals Lannes and Murat, both wounded, Marmont, Messrs. Denon, Castas, and Parseval-Grandmaison. The scientific commission [redacted] been for some months in Upper Egypt.

Our passage presented many difficulties. The secretary of [redacted] Sidney Smith, in a conversation with me, had allowed the observation to escape, that there [redacted] a great advantage in blockading

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which he was very clever. The situation of France, and the future of the country, were often the subjects of his reflections. He never mentioned the government of the Directory but with a degree of severity that savoured of contempt. In the mean while his conversation never betrayed what he intended to do; though many words that escaped him, many musings, and many indirect insinuations, gave a wide scope to our surmises. His administration in Egypt had been pure, his operations full of genius; but was that enough to clear him in the eyes of a government that feared him, and was far from wishing well to him? He would be obliged to make war; but could he submit to the plans of a government deprived of military knowledge, that might place him in an awkward situation, and give his rivals means of success, which they would refuse to allow him? These different ideas made him very thoughtful.

At last the hot wind began to blow in a north-easterly direction. We passed Cape Bone during

the night, and ■■■ arrived speedily at Ajaccio. This little town is the birthplace of the General-in-chief: he had left it eight years before, when he ■■■ only a captain of artillery. At the sight of this place his heart ■■■ deeply affected. Coming from Egypt, where the plague ■■■ prevailed, it was impossible for ■■■ to enter the port. The inhabitants, surprised to ■■■ the Admiral's flag hoisted on the main-mast, rushed towards the shore; but when they learned that their illustrious countryman ■■■ on board, his old friends and relations threw themselves into ■■■ number of boats, ■■■ ■■■ board the frigate, and broke through the quarantine. There ■■■ however ■■■ great danger, for after forty-four days' navigation ■■■ had not ■■■ sick person ■■■ board. Among the crowd that was bustling round the ■■■ cabin there was ■■■ old ■■■ dressed in black, who continually held up her hands to the General, saying, "Caro figlio!" without being able to ■■■ his notice. At last he perceived her, and cried out

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■ *Madre!* — It ■ his nurse, who is still living  
■ the moment I write this.

The General-in-chief learned here, though in ■ confused manner, what had happened in France during his absence. Italy ■ lost, and Massena continued fighting like a lion in Switzerland. In the interior the confusion had been very great. Treilhard and Merlin ■ no longer members of the Directory; their places were occupied by the lawyer Gohier and General Moulin. On hearing the latter name, the General-in-chief turned to Berthier and said, "Who is this General Moulin?" — "I never heard his ■ mentioned before," answered Berthier. General Bonaparte put the same question to all of us, and received the same answer. That man's nomination caused him to reflect deeply. Astonished not to ■ any of the authorities from the land, he soon learned that the members of the municipality, and those of the departmental directory, had sent each other to prison. The commissary of the Go-

vernment, a stranger to the country, was sole  
■ in that ■ of confusion. The cabinet  
revolution had ■ become known ■ Ajaccio,  
■ the different parties found it the most  
natural thing in the world to persecute ■  
another.

## CHAPTER XXII.

General Bonaparte re-establishes some order in Ajaccio.—He lands in Fréjus.—Enthusiasm of the population.—His arrival in Lyons and Paris.—State of public affairs.—The Directory give General Bonaparte a dinner in the Church of St. Sulpice.—Conspiracy to overthrow the Directory.—The General presents himself before the Council of the Elders.—Both the Councils are transferred to St. Cloud.—The Council of Five Hundred assemble in the Conservatory.—General Bonaparte and Sieyes.—Resolutions of the former.—General tumult.—Bonaparte gives an order to drive the members out of the House.—The Constitution of the Third Year is abolished.—Three Consuls: Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun.

IT was necessary to re-establish some order in the midst of so much anarchy. In consequence, the General-in-chief went to his own house, sent for the magistrates, whom he delivered out of prison, exhorted them to peace

and concord, and the next morning the two frigates left the port, sailing in the direction of the Isles of Hyères. The whole of the first day our navigation was very favourable. We perceived already the hills of Provence, and the joy of returning to our dear country was carried to its highest pitch, when the sailor who was on the look-out said that he espied two large ships in the west. They could be no other than enemy's ships, and soon several discharges of cannon seemed to indicate that they had discovered us. The General-in-chief called a council, and the universal opinion,—even that of the Admiral,—was, that General Bonaparte had nothing else to do than to throw himself into the post-boat that accompanied us and return to Ajaccio. He was indignant at such advice. "Do you think," said he, "that I consent to go away like a coward, when fortune has ceased to favour me? Let us continue our course. My destiny is to be taken and here." ■■■ went on; but instead of steering, ■■■ we had done till then, ■■■

the direction of the ■■■ of Hyères, ■■■ resolved  
■ go ■■ Fréjus. The General-in-chief had  
judged rightly. The enemy, whom ■■■ dis-  
tinguished with facility, because they were  
under the setting sun, could not perceive us,  
because we ■■■ in the shade. After standing  
on the whole night, the two frigates reached  
the roads of Fréjus. The Sanitary establish-  
ment ■■■ situated at about ■ quarter of a  
league from the town. An officer of the fri-  
gate went towards the shore in a boat.  
We distinguished him perfectly well. Some  
men ■■■ to meet him; but after a few mi-  
nutes ■■■ perceived a great confusion: ■■■  
people ran towards the town, and soon after  
the strand ■■■ covered with an immense multi-  
tude of persons. The boats ■■■ filled, and as  
at Ajaccio, ■ number of ■■■ rushed on board  
of the ship through the port-holes. The cries of  
“Long live Bonaparte!” resounded ■■■ over the  
country. A white horse was brought for him,  
■■■ ■■ went ■■■ the house of ■ brother of the  
Abbé Sieyes, who ■■■ ■■ Fréjus. The ■■■

timents that animated ■■■ whole population  
■■■ expressed in a manner that ■■■ not leave  
■■■ the shadow of ■ doubt. "You alone ■■■  
■■■ France," ■■■ the universal cry. "She'll  
perish but for you: it is Heaven that sent  
you; seize the reins of government!" His  
journey to Lyons was a triumphal march. We  
arrived in that city ■■■ o'clock in the  
morning. His having landed ■■■ already  
known, and his arrival wished for with an  
ardour impossible to describe. Lyons was still  
famous for its antipathy to the Republican go-  
vernment, and we imagined that the General  
would not stop; but to ■■■ great astonishment  
he declared that he intended to spend the re-  
mainder of the day there. He received all the  
authorities and most distinguished citizens;  
without explaining himself, however, on the  
direct insinuations that ■■■ made to him  
for him to place himself at the head of the  
government, but receiving with a cold ■■■  
rity the republicans ■■■ had organized ■■■  
stitutional club, and who ■■■ to congratulate

him. He had been invited to go to the theatre of the Celestins, where a piece and a song had been prepared for the occasion. He chose — of the boxes — level with the pit; and Duroc having, by his order, placed himself in — front of the box, the call for Bonaparte grew so violent and — unanimous, that the General-in-chief — obliged to change places with him during the whole representation.

Towards midnight he set off, and passed through the Bourbnois, wishing to avoid Mâcon, where the republican club had exasperated the aristocratic classes. From the very first day of his arrival at Paris, the General-in-chief applied himself to avoid the eyes of the multitude, who — — — desirous of seeing him, and expressing their enthusiasm. His interview with the Directory — cold and unceremonious. The members that composed it — that time — Barras, General Moulin, and Gohier, who — the same sentiments; Sieyes and Roger Ducos — in the opposition. It — — — that time that the two latter, despairing of being

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able to maintain the Republican system, and wishing to prevent at any rate the re-establishment of the Bourbons in France, [REDACTED] their eyes on a prince of the House of Spain, whose power would have been circumscribed in such [REDACTED] limits, that Liberty and [REDACTED] the principles of the Revolution would have been in safety. Whatever may be the truth of that anecdote, it is however certain that these two Directors, when they explained to General Bonaparte the disposition of the people's minds, and the impossibility of continuing any longer under the directorial form of Government, entreated him to put himself at the head of [REDACTED] insurrection that might overthrow it. A feeling of affection that the General [REDACTED] preserved for Barras persuaded him to make some indirect overtures [REDACTED] that Director to draw him into his party. [REDACTED] refused, either because he had entered into secret engagements with the House of Bourbon, [REDACTED] rather by a want of enlightened views, and by the republican sentiments [REDACTED] could not [REDACTED] to give up.

It became therefore necessary to do without him, and, moreover, to take a speedy resolution. France was oppressed by the expenses of the war, and disgusted with a violent government, which, perceiving that its enemies were augmented from day to day, and wishing to place in [REDACTED] predicament the disaffected, that its administration created, with its inveterate enemies of the aristocratic classes and the families of the emigrants, loaded [REDACTED] indiscriminately with the [REDACTED] rigour. The fear of the influence of the emigrants, and of a return to a monarchical system, made the directors lean towards those rigorous measures that had caused [REDACTED] of the Committee of Public Welfare, and [REDACTED] of their acts bore the marks of these measures. Their partisans, that were no longer to be found any where else than among a part of [REDACTED] public officers, were perpetually exciting [REDACTED] anxiety on [REDACTED] spirit of the army; General Bonaparte, in particular, inspired them with alarms that could not fail soon to produce [REDACTED] violent attack against him. These partisans

of the Directory formed, nevertheless, everywhere ■ minority, ■ especially in the two councils; but their activity and their audacious spirit compensated for the smallness of their numbers. The General-in-chief arrived on the ■ of Vendemiaire; the conspiracy that ■■■ overturn the Directory ■■■ arranged and decided in the first days of Brumaire, and ■■■ral members of the two Councils had been ■■■ trusted with the secret. Government wishing, however, to show General Bonaparte ■ public testimony of satisfaction, resolved to give him a splendid dinner. It ■■■ decided that the board should be spread ■■■ the nave of the church of St. Sulpice. Arrangements ■■■ made to bring together the two Councils and ■■■ the high officers of the State. The General-in-chief went there with a few generals and with ■■■■■ An immense table in the form of ■ horse-shoe filled the whole church. The General-in-chief ■■■ next to the President of the Directory. He trusted so little ■■■■■ good ■■■■■ of the Government, that he ordered ■ loaf

of bread and half a bottle of wine to be brought there for his private use. I had not been previously informed of that circumstance, and I only learned it when Duroc asked me in the church for those two articles of provision which were fetched from the General's coach. I never witnessed a more silent assembly, than one where the guests showed less confidence and cheerfulness. Scarcely any one addressed his neighbour, and those who were in the secret of the plot, preferred not to speak rather than to risk dangerous conversation with neighbours who might differ in opinion with them. The toasts that were given were received without enthusiasm, even the one meant for General Bonaparte, so deeply were the minds of every one prepossessed with their own private thoughts. After having sat for about half an hour, the General got up, walked slowly round the tables, addressed a few words to the guests, escaped by a side door, and was back in his lodgings before any one observed his absence.

The most celebrated general officers of the army were at the time nearly all in Paris. Moreau, Macdonald, Bourbonville, generals-in-chief, had entered into the plot. Augereau, member of the Council of Five Hundred, had not been made acquainted with it, nor Bernadotte. The opinions of the latter were rather violent; and a feeling of jealousy, the ~~manners~~ of which were not extremely honourable to them, had rendered them both enemies of General Bonaparte. His having formerly commanded in Paris, insured him the friendship of all the officers of the staff; whilst the colonels of the regiments that held garrison in the metropolis were all equally devoted to his person.

Notwithstanding the precautions that had been taken to keep the whole ~~a secret~~ a secret, it had however spread among the higher classes, and almost all the military residing in Paris. The three members of the Directory learned it also; and then for the first time the force of public opinion made them ~~turn~~ back before the measures they might as easily have ~~taken~~.

annihilate the conspiracy. It would undoubtedly have been sufficient to have apprehended the General during the night ; but then what would they have done with him ? How would they have made out any charge against him ? Where would they have found judges ? The General-in-chief ■■■■■ sensible of his real situation, that he took ■■■ precaution whatever for his personal security. He ■■■ surrounded by nobody but his aides-de-camp ; he seldom went out, and worked principally with Roedeur, in whom he had placed ■■■ chief confidence.

On the 16th of Brumaire there ■■■ so little appearance of the plot bursting the following day, that Eugene and I passed the evening ■■■ a ball, where he remained ■■ part of the night, and I left ■■ midnight because that was the hour when my duty began. The next morning at six o'clock the sixty officers ■■■ duty in the quarter ■■■ assembled in the court-yard of the General's house in the Rue de la Victoire. The General explained to them in a forcible ■■■■■ desperate situation of the Repub-

lic, and asked of them a testimony of devotion to his person, with ■■■ oath of allegiance ■■■ the two Chambers. He then mounted his horse and flew to the Carrousel, where he found Sebastiani at the head of his regiment, the fifth dragoons. On entering the Tuilleries, he also found the guards of the Directory, whom their colonel had brought to remain at the disposal of the Council of the Elders. The Minister of the War Department had, nevertheless, two days beforehand strictly prohibited the chiefs of the different corps from making the slightest movement without his orders, under pain of death. But besides the little esteem and ■■■ fidence which that minister (Dubois de Crancé) inspired, the troops ■■■ delighted on finding themselves placed under the command of General Bonaparte. Their enthusiasm ■■■ ■■■ great, that they would not have hesitated ■■■ mo. ■■■ to fire ■■■ the Directory if they had received an order ■■■ that effect.

General Bonaparte presented himself ■■■ the bar of the Elders, where M. le Mercier was in

the chair. ■■■ there received the decree by which he ■■■ appointed General-in-chief of the troops of the first division, and ■■■ order to march next day to St. Cloud, where the two Councils were to hold their sitting. In fact, the following day the majority of the two Councils assembled in the Palace of St. Cloud. The General had required M. Gohier, President of the Directory, to tender his resignation; but he refused; and, as ■■■ lawyer, the reason he gave was, that the order was contrary to the Constitution. ■■■ wife remained with Madame Bonaparte, and they were obliged to work upon her alarm to obtain her husband's submission.

The Council of Elders, not being very numerous, had been easily accommodated in one of the large apartments; but, the Council of Five Hundred, which was to sit in the Conservatory, ■■■ not yet been able to ■■■ ble, because the preparations were not ■■■ pleted. In consequence, the sitting ■■■ not open till three o'clock. Lucien Bonaparte ■■■ in ■■■ chair. Great excitement prevailed; the

friends of the Directory seemed to be more numerous than the day before. They all showed themselves indignant at ■■■■■ which, bearing all the characteristics of a *coup d'état*, presented besides what they called *liberticide violence*, and an odious violation of the Constitution. Scarcely had the debates begun, when ■■■ of the members proposed that each individually should mount the tribune, and ■■■ allegiance to the Constitution of the Year III. The General had given me orders to remain in the hall, and bring him every five minutes a report of what was going forward. The ■■■ remony of the oath ■■■ undoubtedly meant to gain time and prolong the sitting until night should ■■■ in. In the space of five minutes, no more than three oaths ■■■ taken; so that it ■■■ evident ■■■ than five hours would elapse before the ceremony ■■■ terminated. I acquainted General Bonaparte with the circumstance, and found him walking with much agitation in ■■■ apartment ■■■ ■■■ other furniture than ■■■ arm-chairs. Sieyes

■ alone with him, sitting next to the chimney, before ■ burning fagot which ■ ■ poking with ■ stick, for there ■ not even a pair of tongs. After having listened ■ what I ■ say, General Bonaparte turned abruptly to Sieyes and observed : " Now, you ■ what they ■ doing." — " Oh ! oh !" answered the other coolly : " to swear to a part of the Constitution may be right ; but to the whole Constitution,—that is too much ! "

I retired to the adjoining apartment, where I found about thirty officers of the Staff, and General Berthier in the midst of them. All their faces were lengthened; and they looked gloomy. When I told General Berthier what was going forward in the Five Hundred, he grew pale and heaved a sigh. But all of a sudden the folding-door opened, and General Bonaparte appeared, beating the floor with his whip and exclaiming: "This must have an end!" They all rushed out, and we found ourselves in the middle of the yard, where a regiment of infantry, just arrived

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from Paris, were ranged in line of [REDACTED] He assembled the officers, harangued them for a few minutes; and then, turning his horse's head, he galloped back to the foot of [REDACTED] great staircase, which he rapidly ascended, and presented himself at the bar of the Council of [REDACTED] Elders. The speech he made there was faithfully reported in the papers of the time; but his agitation of mind was carried to such a pitch, that he hesitated, and his words were uttered with the utmost disorder. When he arrived at that part of his speech where he mentioned that a great plot had been formed against Liberty, one of the members of the Council said coolly to him: "General, you must reveal that plot." Instead of answering him, the General continued still in a little confusion; but at last recovering his presence of mind, he went on with a firmer voice, and finished his speech. One part of the Council did not share his emotion; the other, on the contrary, enjoyed his confusion; and the Council was to deliberate on what he had said, when he withdrew. But, instead of returning to [REDACTED]

place he had ■■■ from, he went to the Council of Five Hundred. In the vestibule ■ found the grenadiers, who took up ■■■ The noise they made alarmed the Assembly; and when Bonaparte presented himself, a great number of members rushed forward to meet him with angry cries, among which ■■■ might have distinguished the word *dictator*. He ■■■ so pressed between the deputies, his staff, and the grenadiers, who had rushed to the door of the apartment, that I thought for a moment he would be smothered. He could neither advance ■■■ go back. At last those who had accompanied him felt that it was necessary to open a passage for him, and they succeeded, though not without violent efforts. He then went down again to the court-yard, mounted his horse, and remaining at the foot of the staircase, he sent an order for the President to come to him, which the latter ■■■ as ■■■ ■■■ he could escape. In ■■■ mean while the confusion in the Assembly was carried to the highest pitch: several members rushing towards the windows which

opened into ■■■ court-yard, pointed to him and cried out: "Down ■■■ the Dictator!—let him be outlawed!" At that moment, M. de Talleyrand, Arnaud the poet, ■■■ ■■■ other persons with whom I was talking, suddenly turned pale as death: they all fled except those I have named. The terrible word of outlaw (*hors la loi*) still possessed all its magic force; and if a general of some reputation had put himself at the head of the troops of the interior, it would be difficult to guess what might have happened. But the General took a resolution, and gave Murat orders to clear the hall. Murat placed Colonel Dujardin ■■■ the head of a detachment of grenadiers, who crossed the hall ■■■ quick pace. When the Colonel was ■■■ end of the hall, ■■■ turned round towards ■■■ members who ■■■ ■■■ benches; but these getting out by ■■■ windows, disappeared, ■■■ down ■■■ costume, which consisted of a sort of Roman toga with a square cap.

When General Bonaparte entered ■■■ hall ■■■

The Council of Five Hundred, one of the grenadiers who had followed him received a thrust from a dagger, which penetrated his coat, which in all probability had been aimed at the General. The grenadier was rewarded, and I think died a captain. The deputy marked out the assassin was a Corsican, called Arena : he perished a short time after, being implicated in the conspiracy of which Coracechi and Topineau Lebrun were at the head, and the object of which was to assassinate the First Consul at the Opera, in the midst of the confusion they intended to create by letting off squibs. Having left France a few days after, the 18th Brumaire, I could obtain no particulars of the affair.

Immediately after the expulsion of the deputies, the members of the two Councils who had been appointed to consult on the measures to be taken, met ; and on the 19th the city of Paris, and soon after all the rest of France, learned that General Bonaparte had created First Consul, and that Messrs.

Cambacérès ■■■ Lebrun ■■■ to be ■■■ and Third Consuls with him.\* The former ■■■ ■■■ a magistrate in ■■■ Parliament of Aix. He ■■■ celebrated for his thorough information and his conciliating temper. He had ■■■ in the Convention, and his mitigated vote in the King's trial gave the true measure of the weakness of his disposition. The Third Consul, M. Lebrun, was said to have written the beautiful ordinances of Chancellor Maupeon, whose Secretary he ■■■ been. He ■■■ ■■■ very well-informed man, and published two remarkable translations, ■■■ of the Iliad, and the other of Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered. He had the reputation of being a great financier. The discernment of the First Consul in appointing him ■■■ universally applauded.

The Minister of Police at that period was M. Fouché, subsequently Duke of Otranto. On

\* Count Lavallette's memory has again betrayed ■■■ ■■■ instance:—the first three Consuls were Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos. Cambacérès and Lebrun succeeded to the ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ afterwards.—(Note of ■■■ Translator.)

the 17th Brumaire he [redacted] pledged his word to General Bonaparte to serve him unreservedly; but on the 18th, [redacted] I was walking up and down the apartments of St. Cloud, I met [redacted] of my old schoolfellows, named Thurot, whom I [redacted] not seen since I left college. He told me that he [redacted] Secretary-general of the Police; and as I questioned him rather in a pressing manner, he confessed that his master had sent him to St. Cloud to witness the event, and that [redacted] must succeed at any cost, as he [redacted] well enough acquainted with his patron to know that he would make us pay [redacted] failure dearly. In truth, [redacted] learned since, that the Minister had taken measures to have us apprehended, and perhaps shot, if the undertaking [redacted] St. Cloud had not completely succeeded. The Emperor learned that circumstance; and knowing his [redacted] strength, he used sometimes to joke with his Minister about it.

Although I [redacted] not kept up my connexions [redacted] family of Metternich, the First Consul, hoping to press the Austrians so closely, [redacted]

~~THE~~ MEMOIRS OF M. DE LAVALLETTE.

peace would be the consequence of the ~~fall~~ —  
paign, sent — to Saxony ~~will~~ secret powers —  
sign — armistice, in case the events of the  
war should incline the Austrians that way.

## A P P E N D I X.

### No. I.

Toulon, ■ Floreal, Year VI.

The General of Division, chief of the General ■ of the Army, orders Citizen Lavallotte, Captain, Aide-de-camp ■ the General-in-chief, to ■ ■ board the frigate Artemisa, and to sail with the expedition.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

### No. II.

■ CITIZEN LAVALLOTTE, ■ ■ ■

Head-quarters at Malta, ■ Prairial, Year VI.

The Artemisa, Citizen, ■ orders ■ anchor off the ■ ■ ■ of Albania, ■ give you the means of conferring with Ali Pacha.

You are to deliver to him the enclosed letter, the contents of which only mention that he will believe all you say to him, and an interpreter whom you can trust, so that you may hold a private conversation with him. You are to give the said letter into his hands, and you will take care that he reads it himself.

Afterwards you are to tell him that having conquered Malta, and being now present in those islands with thirty ships and fifty thousand men, I shall of course enter into communication with him, and that I wish to know whether I may rely upon him.

That I wish he would send to me by the frigate a man of note in whom he places confidence. That considering the service he has rendered to the Republic, his personal qualities, courage, and gallantry, if he trusts me and consents to second me, I am able to increase considerably his glory and his fortune.

You are to make general inquiries respecting the political and military situation of the different islands of those regions.

You are to write down whatever Ali Pacha says to you, re-embark in the frigate and return and make a report on the result of your mission.

When you pass by you are to see General Cha-

## APPENDIX.

bot, and [REDACTED] him [REDACTED] send [REDACTED] wood, and issue a proclamation to the inhabitants of Coreyra and other islands, directing them [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the squadron, wine, dried raisins, and other objects, for which they [REDACTED] be liberally paid.

BONAPARTE.

### No. III.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO [REDACTED] LAVALLETTÉ.

Head-quarters, Cairo, [REDACTED] Primaire, Year VII.

You must [REDACTED] off on board the djerme La Venitienne, with Citizen Beauchamp, to go to Alexandria. You [REDACTED] inspect the situation of the fortifications, magazines, and of every ship of [REDACTED] squadron.

You must deliver the sabre you receive herewith [REDACTED] Rear-Admiral Pétré.

You [REDACTED] inspect the fort of Rosetta.

You must endeavour to get from Alexandria [REDACTED] Rosetta my travelling carriage and the carriage I brought from Malta. At Rosetta you will embark them [REDACTED] a djerme for Boulac.

You are not [REDACTED] until you have seen Citizen Beauchamp under weigh.

BONAPARTE.

## No. IV.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO ██████████ LAVALLIÈRE.

Head-quarters, Cairo, 22 Nivose, Year VII.

I HAVE received your letters of █ and 1 Nivose: stay  
█ Alexandria until the caravella be gone, and █ off  
immediately after.                                   GENERAL BONAPARTE.

## No. V.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO ██████████ LAVALLIÈRE.

Head-quarters, Cairo, 18 Vendémiaire, Year VII.

You █ █ off this day, Citizen, █ board the little  
Cisalpine; taking with you the cargo La Corcyre, and  
the █ the Rhone.

You are to conduct the convoy bound to Salahieli to  
Mit-Kamas, where it will be placed under the orders █  
General Murat, who is █ █ it farther up.

You █ █ continue your █ with the armed  
vessels, and go █ Mansoura; there you █ █ General  
Dugua, and inquire what █ be █ have received  
█ from Damietta or from █ You will go  
█ █ Damietta, take on board of █ three vessels all the  
troops they are able █ carry, █ go with them to re-  
join █ Andreossi █ newly man █ flotilla. You

APPENDIX.

■ follow that General on his reconnoitring trip to Peluse.

You will write ■ me from Mansoura and from Damietta; and if there ■ any newly arrived vessels ■ the roads of Damietta, will question them and send ■ a report.

BONAPARTE.

No. VI.

REPORT ■■■■■ TO ■■■ GENERAL-IN-CHIEF ON ■■■■■  
TO PELUSE.

Cairo, ■ Brumaire.

I ■■■■■ Boulac ■■■ the evening of the 18th Vendemiaire, on board of the canga La Corcyre, bound for Damietta, with the Cisalpine, and the canoes the Rhone and ■■■ Seine.

I ■■■■■ General Vial before Mit-et-Koli, ■■■ the ■■■■■ that village had been plundered for having murdered some Frenchmen. ■■■■■ with him two hundred and fifty ■■■ of the 13th and 25th half brigade. No inhabit■■■■■ found in that village. The same circumstance took place in regard ■■■ two others which ■■■ been equally guilty. In returning to Damietta ■■■ the 23rd, the General stopped ■■■ Farescout, surrounded the village, ■■■ required of the ■■■ that they should deliver up ■■■ him the ■■■ of their inhabitants. ■■■ obtained only eight-

■ muskets, and took ■ sheiks ■ hostages, who ■ sent off ■ Cairo. Farescout ■ the village ■ inhabitants of which ■ the ■ devoted ■ Toubar. ■ there ■ the insurrection of the ■ Fructidor ■

I left Damietta on the 24th, and passed ■ night at the ■ Bogaz, the wind not having allowed me ■ go any farther. That ■ contains ■ garrison of twenty ■ thirty ■. The wall that has been raised round it shelters it against a surprise. But the ■ that defend it ■ ill-placed, and the platforms ■ ■ in ■ ■ ■ support them long.

On the 25th I went ■ Dibhé by land. The road from Bogaz to the mouth of the lake is eight leagues in length, and the soil a firm sand : the heaviest artillery may ■ ■ it without danger.

■ consists of about thirty fishermen's huts. Several inhabitants ■ ■ ■ meet us, and brought ■ provisions.

Having ■ advantage of ■ fair wind, I arrived ■ ■ in twelve hours. ■ is a considerable place, containing about ■ thousand inhabitants. However, ■ more than one-fifth of them were there when I passed. Hassan Toubar ■ the owner of two houses there : he had ■ every thing ■ ■. We ■ ■ nothing ■

them but ■■■ cattle and wretched furniture. Though the inhabitants trade ■■■ lake, the boats are obliged ■■■ anchor ■■■ ■■■ league distance, the lake ■■■ being deep enough for them ■■■ approach ■■■ Mensalé, which besides is not built on the shore. The anchoring place ■■■ unprotected, but possesses ■■■ water, which ■■■ brought ■■■ ■■■ distance from it by the emptying of the canals of the Nile in the ■■■ of the inundation.

On ■■■ 27th, ■■■ six o'clock in the morning, I ■■■ Mensalé to join General Andreossi, ■■■ whom I brought water and provisions. I found him on the ■■■ ■■■ the mouth of Aroum Farregge.

He had with him ■■■ barks; his troops consisted of ■■■ battalion of the 25th, and ■■■ detachment of the 2nd light infantry.

On the 29th, ■■■ four o'clock in the morning, I ■■■ off for Peluse with the General and ■■■ detachment ■■■ thirty

The distance from the mouth of Aroum Farregge ■■■ El Farameh ■■■ three leagues. This ruined ■■■ pre-sented nothing remarkable. At three-quarters of ■■■ league from ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ an ■■■ quantity ■■■ dust and bricks, which are supposed ■■■ have ■■■ the fortress of Peluse. There is yet a wall standing, and some arches that have been examined. The ruins of the

town extend ■ about three thousand paces. In ■ that space ■ ■■■ nothing but a few pillars ■ granite of large size, ■ ■■■ of a town partly in ruins.

On our return we observed, at eighteen hundred toises from Peluse, ■ edifice which is thought ■ be ■ ruined mosque. Nothing, however, remains but the brick walls and ■ part of the arched roof. We ■ there several cannons unfit for use, and granite balls.

On the ■ ■■■ Aroum Farregge, and I separated from General Andreossi ■■■ Tania.

I found on my arrival ■ Damietta the train of artillery designed for Salahieh. They were embarking ■ on the lake, and ■ ■■■ to go ■ the following day for Sann.

General Dugua ■ arrived the preceding day ■ Damietta. ■ told me that the government of that province ■ ■■■ yet organized, but that he ■■■ going to look after it.

General ■■■ complained of the difficulties ■■■ with in the discharge of ■ duty. The Secretary they have given him is a young man, who understands nothing about the business; and the ■■■ of his health will not allow him ■ do all himself. ■■■ unable to give me ■ very ■■■ account of the property of ■■■ 'Toubar. As soon ■ he ■■■ have made the necessary inquiries on the subject, ■ will acquaint you with ■ result.

■ Vial complains ■ he has ■ troops enough  
■ guard Mansoura. ■ ■ not ■ thousand ■  
men under his command, and twenty ■■■■■ peasants  
assemble every week in the market-place of that town.

■ I accompanied General Murat on ■ expedition ■  
■ \* \*, the inhabitants of which had the day before ■■■■■  
sacred ■■■■■ dragoons of the 14th, and stolen their horses.  
The village ■■■ surrounded at ten o'clock ■ night ; and  
next morning the General ■■■ into ■ two companies of  
grenadiers, who slaughtered more than ■■■ hundred  
peasants. In their houses were found ■■■■■ sheaths of  
dragoons' sabres, and some helmets.

## LAVALLETTÉ.

## No. VII.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO ■■■■■ LAVALLETTÉ.

Head-quarters at Cairo, ■ Nivose, Year VII.

You will please, Citizen, ■■■■■ back ■ Cairo as  
■■■■■ possible. I have received your Report.

BONAPARTE.

## No. VIII.

■■■■■ GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO ■■■■■ LAVA ■■■■■

Head-quarters at Cairo, 9 Pluviose, ■■■ VII.

You ■■■■■ please, Citizen, to come to Cairo ■■■ soon ■■■  
possible. I ■■■■■ you for the new campaign that is  
about ■■■■■

BONAPARTE.

## No. IX.

BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO CITIZEN LAVALLETTE.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 20 Pluviose, Year VII.

You must set off, Citizen, as soon as possible, to join me. You need not wait for the departure of the camavella. At your arrival at Cairo, you must remain three days there, to gain a perfect knowledge of the situation of affairs; and you must not depart until a favourable opportunity offers.

BONAPARTE.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





